



Shamanistic and Related Phenomena in Northern and Middle India

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Shamanistic and Related Phenomena in Northern and Middle India

By RUDOLF RAHMANN *

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Preliminary Remark ¹

When we speak of "shamanistic" phenomena, or employ the term "shaman", etc., these are not necessarily to be understood in the strict definition of the words ². KOPPERS uses the expression "Schamanen-Zauberer" ³. There are many questions relating to Indian shamanism, to which ethnological research has yet to provide the answers. It is hoped that the present study may offer a clue to some of them. In order to more clearly circumscribe the magic complex, it will be necessary to examine the forms of the priesthood, which vary from tribe to tribe. The tribes under consideration here are largely the same as those treated in an earlier article ⁴, where a study was made of their deities.

¹ My most sincere thanks go to J. E. MERTZ for translating nearly the whole manuscript from German into English. — I gathered part of the ethnographic material for this article about twenty-five years ago (*cf.* RN., p. 72, note 224). Other duties made it impossible for me to complete the task before this. The delay had its advantages, however, in that our knowledge of the aboriginal Indian has in the interim been considerably enriched by the publication of a number of valuable works on the subject.

² Regarding the definition of shamanism, *v.* B, IX, below.

³ Basing his opinion on personal observation and ethnographic reports, KOPPERS states that in India every shaman is also a magician (Zauberer), whilst vice versa, not every magician is likewise a shaman (Probleme, p. 762).

⁴ RAHMANN, Gottheiten (Anthropos 1936). — For the geographical location of most

A. Descriptive Section

I. Munda-speaking Tribes (Kolarian)

1. The Santal ⁵

Here four classes of persons come into question: the village priests; ⁶ the medicine men, *raranics* (*ran* = medicine), who employ no magic devices (these have been described by BODDING [*cf.* pp. 10 ff.] and evaluated ethnologically by KOPPERS [Probleme, p. 788 f.]); and two types of magicians (shamans), the *ojhas* and the *jans*.

The *ojha* ⁷ is a medicine man like the *raranic*, but also a magician-shaman. Each village has its *ojha* (p. 46). The *ojha* has a personal tutelary spirit (p. 28), sometimes several of them (p. iv). Furthermore, he has a unique relation to *Kamru*, the primeval magician (pp. iv, 122 ff.; *cf.* Probleme, pp. 766 ff.). He also has recourse to the high god *Thakur* (*Singbonga*; *cf.* RN., pp. 44, 51 f.) and to the better-known Hindu goddesses (p. 47).

No woman can ever be an *ojha* (p. 46). All male youths, however, undergo a period of training in magic and especially in shamanistic practices. The *ojha* conducts a series of classes from the end of May until about the end of September (p. 45 f.). One or the other of the pupils will have the intention of becoming a professional *ojha* himself, and upon him the teacher (*guru*) will center most of his attention. Such a pupil, known as *pat cela*, "principal disciple", generally attends the courses for two or three years (p. 61).

Classes are held in the evenings, in the yard of the *guru*'s home. The shrine for his tutelary spirits is located there — a small mound of earth, upon

of the tribes dealt with in the present article, see the map on p. 755. Diacritical marks have usually been omitted in the spelling of foreign names. One looks in vain for uniformity on this point among the various authors, and the present writer is not an expert in linguistic matters.

⁵ The page numbers in the section on the Santal refer to BODDING, The Santal and Disease. I have been unable to obtain a copy of the monograph by C. MUKHERJEA, The Santals, Calcutta 1943. — *Cf.* also DATTA-MAJUMDER, pp. 104 ff.

⁶ The village priest is called *ato naeke*; *ato* = village, *cf.* CAMPBELL, Dictionary, p. 27; *naeke*, from Skr. *naya* = leader (*cf.* ROY, The Birhors, p. 63). The Santal have a special priest, known as *dihri*, for the ritual spring hunt; other tribes call their village priest *dihuri*. BODDING speaks of a third priest, the *kudam naeke*, whose main duty is to appease the spirits residing on the outskirts of the village (p. iv). CAMPBELL characterizes him as "the priest who conducts the worship of the lesser deities of the village" (*l. c.*, p. 431; *kudam* = "the rear, behind, at the back"; *cf.* also p. 344). The *kudam naeke* probably corresponds to the assistant of the Munda village priest.

The village priest does not practice magic. There is, however, an element of magic in his election. The people invoke the spirits at the sacred village grove, "whereupon a man is 'possessed' . . . by one of the spirits, and in this state goes and embraces one of those present, and in this way selects a priest" (p. iii).

⁷ *Ojha* "is a Hindi word". It means: "a diviner, soothsayer, sorcerer, wizard, enchanter, conjurer, exorcist, magician". The derivation of the word from the Hindi *ojh*, intestines (*cf.* DALTON, p. 85), is incorrect, according to BODDING (p. 10).

which is planted a Holy Basil shrub ⁸. Beginners are first taught magic formulas and songs ⁹, and how to induce trances by rotating the head, a technique known as *rum* (p. 34, note 1) ¹⁰. These skills prepare them to take part in the begging tour which concludes the course ¹¹. We are told that formerly they took with them only a staff with an iron crown, but nowadays they take all sorts of paraphernalia along (*cf.* pp. 68 ff.). ¹²

The *initiation* of the *pat cela* is preceded by a preliminary blessing. While turning round and round on a cylindrical stone ¹³ and making the characteristic movements of the head, the candidate stirs *adwa* rice ¹⁴ in a winnow, placed there by the *guru-ojha*. At the teacher's insistence, the spirit which took possession of the candidate makes known its identity (pp. 58 ff.) ¹⁵. This preliminary blessing may originally have been the initiation proper (*cf.* B, V, below). The pupil himself requests the formal initiation, known as *sid* ¹⁶. This consists essentially in the following ceremony: A cloth is placed over teacher and pupil; the teacher takes a bite out of some cakes prepared from the flesh (brains) of animals that have been sacrificed; the pupil must then somehow wrest a morsel of the cake from the teacher's mouth. BODDING himself explains this eating as a "symbolic act; the *guru* gives his disciple his very own, and the *cela* shows his power" (pp. 61 ff.).

The *ojha* performs the following magic functions:

1. With an oiled leaf as an oracular medium (pp. 16 ff.), he ascertains the causes of disease: natural causes, humans (witches), spirits, ancestors.
2. He performs the "thigh-blood" ¹⁷ sacrifice (pp. 22 ff.), a substitute

⁸ *Ocimum sanctum*; Santali *tursi*; among the Hindu *tulsi*, *tulasi*. *Cf.* MARTIN, pp. 237 ff. The Holy Basil shrub is "probably the holiest tree in India".

⁹ *Cf.* p. 13 f. and 99 ff.; also KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 795.

¹⁰ This head-rotating has spread to „den zentralindischen Gebieten und wahrscheinlich noch ziemlich weit darüber hinaus“ (KOPPERS, *l. c.*, p. 761 f.).

¹¹ BODDING remarks that the fact that this begging tour is held at the same time as the ten-day celebration in honor of *Durga* (*Durga-puja*, *cf.* MONIER-WILLIAMS, p. 431) is mere coincidence.

¹² The *ojhas* are said to have formerly carried this staff "when going on professional visits" (p. 70). — Regarding the drums which the pupils take with them on this tour, *v.* note 25 and B, VI, 2, below.

¹³ The Santal use this stone in their homes for crushing spices. In addition to the stone (and a new winnow), the candidate must also bring along an iron armband and a broom. BODDING does not say what purpose the latter articles serve. With regard to the rotating seat, *v.* B, VII, 1, below.

¹⁴ *Cf.* B, VII, 1, below.

¹⁵ "Whilst the ordinary Santal stands in fear of his *bongas*, the *ojha* does not show fear, whatever he may feel. . . . There is no reverence in the *ojha's* way of addressing his *bongas*" (p. iv).

¹⁶ According to BODDING, *sid* is a Hindi word, "originally Sanskrit *siddhi*; . . . means 'accomplishment, perfection' . . ." (p. 61, note 1). *Cf.* also CAMPBELL, *l. c.*, p. 575.

¹⁷ *Bul mayam*. The parallel with the Munda (*cf.* note 36, below) makes it evident that *bul* is to be identified with *bulu*, "the thigh" and not with *bul* = "drunken, unconscious state", as BODDING supposes. He renders the expression as [rice] "impregnated with, infused with" [blood]. He himself admits, however, that his explanation "does not seem to give any good meaning" (p. 22 f.). *Cf.* CAMPBELL, *l. c.*, p. 81. — *māyām* = blood, to bleed (*ibid.* p. 412). — The blood is drawn from other parts besides the thighs.

for human sacrifice (*cf.* B, VII, 4, below). This concludes with the so-called *saket* sacrifice (pp. 27 ff.). There is also mention (p. v) of *saket* spirits (*bongas*). This is obviously a transformation of the Hindu notion of *Śakti* ¹⁸.

3. He sucks disease elements out of sick bodies (pp. 11, 104 f.).

4. He digs up evil *bongas* hidden in the ground, *i. e.*, he unearths their symbols (pp. 35 ff.). An especially qualified *ojha* is needed for this purpose. Deceptions may enter in here; witches may also have a hand in the matter.

5. In rare cases he exorcises the *kisar-bonga* ¹⁹ (pp. 33 ff.). One who has this spirit in his home becomes wealthy at first; but if he offends the spirit, he thereby dooms his entire family to ruin unless the *kisar* is promptly driven away. A variety of sacrifices are offered, and the head of an immolated ram is nailed to a tree (head-hunting trophy?). Despite the absence of characteristic elements, the *kisar-bonga* reminds one very much of the *Thlen* cult of the Khasi and of similar phenomena among the Munda and Oraon ²⁰. The manner in which the *ojha* deals with the *kisar-bonga* is similar to that of the Yakut shaman (*cf.* NIORADZE, p. 94).

The *jan* ²¹. Between the *ojha* and the *jan* there is a clearly defined distinction: the former are "professionals in combating *disease*", the latter "in finding out *witches*" (p. 43; italics supplied). The *ojha* assists only in the preliminary phase of the witch hunt; it is really the affair of all the men of the village ²². They begin by consulting the *ojhas*. Then the so-called "branch

¹⁸ *Cf.* KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 790. BODDING himself comments on this (probable) adaptation: "This would be in keeping with the nature of other loans" (p. v). According to DATTA-MAJUMDER there "can be no doubt about the great influence of Hinduism on [Santal] *ojhaism*" (p. 108).

¹⁹ BODDING does not explain the term *kisar*. Most probably it has the same meaning as *kisar* in CAMPBELL (*l. c.*, p. 334), *viz.*, "a rich man; to become rich". This meaning fits nicely into *kisar-bonga*.

²⁰ *Cf.* HEINE-GELDERN, *Kopfjagd*, pp. 32 ff.; RN., pp. 76 ff.

²¹ CAMPBELL, *l. c.*, p. 253, renders the word as "witch finder"; BOMPAS, p. 447, does the same. The latter says (*l. c.*): "The *Jan* usually divines by gazing at an oiled leaf". He makes no mention of the methods described by BODDING.

²² Among the Mundas, likewise, cases of witchcraft are brought before the village council (*panchayat*). *Cf.* EM, IV, p. 1038; ROY, *Mundas*, p. 486. Witchcraft among the Santal and how they combat it is the subject of a publication by ARCHER (*The Santal Treatment of Witchcraft*). The article notes the existing literature, and also presents the author's own observations from the years 1943-46. — Girls of tender years are most adaptable for training to this profession. They are often seduced or compelled to become witches. They go through a regular training period under the supervision of older witches. Their equipment consists of a lamp, a broom and a broken winnow. They are familiarized with the spirit world, wedded to a *bonga* and taught the art of producing trances. After the course is completed, "a girl... is made to take her degree (*sid atang*) by taking out a man's liver and cooking it with rice in a new pot; she and the young woman who is initiating her eat the feast together..." (p. 104). — CAMPBELL translates *sid atang* (sic) as: "To be accomplished, as a pupil" (*l. c.*, p. 575). — The parallels with initiation of the *ojha* (as well as with the measures taken against witchcraft) are evident. The Munda also have a witch initiation (*cf.* EM, X, p. 2920). — DATTA-MAJUMDER writes (p. 100) about the Santal of Birbhum that practitioners of witchcraft are suspected of

test" is applied : Green branches are stuck into the ground near some water, standing for the households (*i. e.* women) and spirits suspected of having caused the illness ; those branches which wither within a given time narrow the suspicion down to the spirits or persons for whom they stood (BODDING, pp. 38 ff. ; ARCHER, pp. 114 ff.) ²³.

The *direct* naming of the witch is finally done by the *jan*. One is consulted who lives at a considerable distance and who (supposedly ?) could know nothing of the matter. He tosses some resin from the *sal* tree — together with certain other substances — on to some glowing embers, "blows the shell, sounds the bonga bell. . . . Next he becomes possessed by the spirit of divination. . . .". His utterances become more and more intelligible until he finally names the "guilty" spirit or witch (BODDING, pp. 41 ff. ; ARCHER, *l. c.*).

DATTA-MAJUMDER remarks (p. 104) that spirit-possession can happen to all Santal, but that "the medicine-man is specially susceptible to it".

There is an old report from SHERWILL (and DALTON) and a more recent one from CAMPBELL about a Santal cult of the dead, which has certain shamanistic characteristics ²⁴. SHERWILL gives an eye-witness description of the sacrifice for a deceased village headman. It was conducted by two men "with dishevelled hair and with their heads hanging down as if in attitude of deep thought. . . ; a drummer was beating furiously upon a Sonthal kettle-drum" ²⁵. The two mediums answered the questions put to them, sometimes in words, sometimes with loud cries. Finally, while still in this state of exaltation, they immolated a goat and let the blood flow into some leaf cups filled with rice (SHERWILL, p. 570 f.). According to CAMPBELL, after the cremation of a corpse, and again ten days later, three men are possessed, the first by *Marang Buru* ²⁶, the second by another spirit, and the third by the deceased. Possession is brought on by stirring rice in a winnow. The mediums wear their hair loose ²⁷. DALTON describes a similar incident (p. 218), but he mentions only one medium.

possessing the power of seducing the spirits (*bongas*). "As it is difficult to ascertain who is a doer of witchcraft, and who is not, it is thought better to be careful about all women."

²³ In the midst of the planted group of green branches is placed the "witness" branch, which evidently represents the high god *Thakur*. According to ARCHER, there are other variations of the ordeal.

²⁴ I have only incomplete notes from the articles by SHERWILL and CAMPBELL (Death and Cremation Ceremonies). Neither the articles themselves nor my original excerpts are available to me as I write. It is not unlikely that DALTON's brief account is based on SHERWILL's article, an impression which I am, however, unable to verify.

²⁵ "A small kettle drum" and "a small drum of wood" are also taken along on their begging tour by the Santal shaman pupils (BODDING, p. 70 ; *cf.* note 12, above).

²⁶ *Marang Buru* (Great Mountain) is the vegetation deity of the Santal and other Munda tribes (*cf.* RN., pp. 63 ff.). During the sacrifices which the Santal offer to *Marang Buru* on hilltops, they drive themselves "into a kind of frenzy to charm rain" (CROOKE, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 229).

²⁷ CAMPBELL, *Death and Cremation Ceremonies*, p. 454 f. — MONIER-WILLIAMS mentions (p. 585) that after consigning the cremated skeletal remains to the waters of the Dāmodar, the sacred river of the Santal, the next of kin sometimes offers bread to *Marang Buru*, to the spirits of the ancestors and to the deceased, on a special altar.

2. The Munda, Ho and Bhumij ²⁸

A typical Munda phenomenon is the village priest, *pahan*. He is descended from the family of the village founder (the office is therefore hereditary) ²⁹. He is clearly distinguished from the sorcerer (EM, IV, p. 1023). Originally he was also the civil head of the village (EM, II, pp. 424 f. ; XI, p. 3210). The ritual winnow and the sacrificial knife might be considered his official insignia, although in former times these were left under the (first) sacred tree of the village throughout the entire year. Nowadays, however, he keeps them in his home to prevent them from being stolen (*cf.* EM, II, p. 386 f., 334).

According to the EM ³⁰ (IV, pp. 1022 ff.), the following are the Munda magicians :

1. The *sokha*, usually either an Oraon or a Sadan ³¹. He is a distinctly Hindu phenomenon (*cf.* also X, p. 2918). "He does not fear to point out clearly the wizards and witches responsible for sickness".

2. The *marang* (great) *deora*. In most respects he copies the *sokha*, and is like him primarily "a witch-finder". Like the *sokha*, too, he derives his powers (*gun*) ³² from *Mahadeo* (*Śiva*) (EM, X, p. 2918). Unlike the *sokha*, however, he frequently conducts his ceremonies in the Mundari tongue (EM, IV, p. 1024). Near his house he has a small enclosure with an earthen sacrificial platform on which to the east is planted a Holy Basil shrub, and to the west

²⁸ DALTON (p. 184) treats of the Munda, Ho, and Bhumij under a single heading. According to HOFFMANN (EM), the Munda and the Ho belong to a younger branch of the Munda stock. "These two divisions or, to speak more exactly, the main body comprising the Mundas and the geographically detached group formed by the Hos, are but one single tribe since they freely intermarry" (VI, p. 1763). The Ho and the *kompai* ("genuine", *cf.* VIII, p. 2467) Munda "speak the same language and there are no essential differences between their religious beliefs and social practices. Only, the Mundas have proved more refractory to the witchcraft system than the other Mundas..." (VI, p. 1769). Concerning the Bhumij, ROY states: "... the Bhumij-Mundas of Tamar and the adjoining *parganas* of the Manbhum District would appear to belong to the same tribe as the Mundas" (Mundas, p. 400).

²⁹ In the Naguri District of the Munda tribe (*cf.* EM, X, p. 2910) the priest is sometimes chosen through an inspired medium (XI, p. 3214). This would doubtless be an instance of Santal influence (*cf.* note 6, above). This view is further confirmed by the fact that Naguri District is situated nearer to the Santali than to the Hasada, the other Munda dialect (*cf.* X, p. 2911 and VI, p. 1644).

³⁰ ROY lists the following as being instrumental in producing magic-shamanistic phenomena: *deonras*, *najos*, *matīs*; but he does not differentiate them further. Many of these are not of Munda blood, and they must be distinguished from the village priest (Mundas, p. 469). Further on (p. 486), he brings in the "witch-finder", "the *Sokha*, *Mati* or *Bhagat*". The latter transports himself into a trance by the burning of incense, and in this state he sees "the witch who has roused up a particular spirit to afflict his client".

³¹ A Sadan is a Hindu or a Mohammedan, especially a Zemindar or dealer, who has made his home on the Ranchi plateau for many years (communication of S. FUCHS, Bombay).

³² *Gun* is obviously the same as Skr. *guna*, "quality, excellence, virtue". UHLENBECK would derive the name of the Baiga sorcerer, *gunia*, from it; *cf.* KOPPERS, Probleme, p. 770, Anm. 29; *cf.* also II, 1, below (The Bhuiya).

there often stands a round *Mahadeo* stone (EM, XIII, p. 3947). This reminds us of the *ojha* of the Santal.

3. The *huring* (little) *deora*. He practices soothsaying, conjuring of spirits, etc. Thus, he is a magician in the ordinary sense of the word. Cases of witchcraft are referred by him to the *sokha* or *marang deora*.

4. The *hata* (winnowing fan) *deora*. He is a *huring deora* who restricts his operations to the magical use of the winnowing-fan. This is done by holding the fan in one hand while with the other rice is tossed on to a millstone that rests on the fan. The swaying of the fan reveals the cause of the sickness (IV, p. 1089). The *hata deora* would never dare name a witch (X, p. 3108).

According to the EM, shamanistic elements are found only in connection with the detection of witches. An old "witch-finder" teaches this art. The initiation into it is known as *sidi*. The witch detector (thus it must be either a *sokha* or a *marang deora*) passes into a trance himself ("hypnotism"), or he makes use of a medium upon whom the trance comes. In the first case, one of his methods consists in lighting an oil lamp and staring at a fan of peacock feathers, while a sound is made by blowing on a shell. His *guru* takes possession of him and reveals to him who is the "guilty" witch (IV, p. 1037 f.). The mediums employed by other witch detectors are boys with a special gift for this. They squat down on a loose rock or wooden block, and while the witch detector mumbles words and moves his hands about, the boy's entire body begins to tremble, "his face and hands showing that he has fallen into a trance. He then begins to spin round with his seat more or less rapidly" ³³. In reply to the witch detector's questioning, he describes the witch indirectly (IV, p. 1036 f.). The description leads one to believe that the soul of the boy is thought to roam about outside his body in quest of the witch. Some witch detectors exercise their power over a radius of 30-40 miles (p. 1038) ³⁴.

A beginner learns the art from a teacher. "Part of his training consists in being gradually and regularly worked into trances" (p. 1037) ³⁵.

A few of the Munda are acquainted with the "thigh-blood" sacrifice (*cf.* I, 1, 2, above) ³⁶. Its character as a substitute for human sacrifice is brought

³³ Divination with a rotating medium — a stranger may be used as the medium — is also practiced on certain other occasions. The questions are addressed to *Singbonga* (EM, VI, p. 1734 f.; *cf.* note 13, above).

³⁴ The EM describes in the following passage the tension created throughout the community when witchcraft is suspected: "On no other occasion are the nerves of the whole community strung to such a pitch. This excitement reaches its wildest stage in the men's heads when they see the medium in his trance and feel themselves in the very presence of the spirit. All of them, the unhappy husband of the supposed witch included, are firmly convinced that the medium is going to point out the very woman whom everybody in the village has been suspecting. It appears natural that under such circumstances the medium should read the thought, which so strongly agitates all those who sit round him" (IV, p. 1038).

³⁵ For further data concerning the initiation, the EM refers to the description under *sidi*. I regret that I do not have access to the "S" volume of the EM. *sidi* is no doubt identical with the Santali *sid* (*cf.* I, 1 and note 16, above). In any case it may be assumed that the training period of a *sokha* candidate concludes with an initiation.

³⁶ This is called *bul-maeom*; "*bul* is the Santali form of *bulu*, thigh..." (EM, II,

out in the fact that the *deora* who declares himself ready for this sacrifice must redeem his life by the offering of a white goat to the high god *Sinbonga* (EM, II, pp. 645 ff.).

3. The Kharia ³⁷

The office of village priest (*pahan*), who also has an assistant (*pujar*), is hereditary. The priest keeps the sacred winnow in his house. Sickness is always due to evil spirits (*bhut*) or witches (*dañ*; cf. note 60, below). Hence the cure must be sought from the "medicine man" (*mati*) or the "witch-finder" (*soka*), respectively. The Kharia distinguish between a man's soul (*jiu*) and his "shade" (*chain*). The former is reborn; the latter, on the evening of the burial day, is by the sound of two sickles, beaten against one another, led back into the house, making itself at home in the kitchen. If treated well, the "shade" is friendly; but if slighted it takes revenge.

4. The Korwa

In Jashpur and Palamau — this is certainly DALTON's meaning — the Korwa ³⁸ are acknowledged by the other tribes to be the oldest inhabitants of the region. This is undoubtedly the reason why, "for the propitiation of the local spirits Korwa *baigas* are always selected" (DALTON, p. 221; cf. p. 229). The Korwa of Sirguja, on the other hand, are said to have practiced only sacrifice to their ancestors (?), offered by the head of the family (*l.c.*, p. 229).

According to MAJUMDAR, who writes eighty years after DALTON, the Korwa have a great fear of witches, but they themselves do not know how to cope with them. They are much exposed to witchcraft and especially to black magic as practiced by other tribes ³⁹. After comparing DALTON and MAJUMDAR, one is forced to the conclusion that only within the last century has belief in witchcraft become general among the Korwa.

The *baiga* is possessed by his tutelary spirit when he determines the identity of an unborn child (rebirth of an ancestor) (MAJUMDAR, Cycle, pp. 253 ff.). He is also on hand at wedding festivities, during which any of those taking part occasionally pass into trances (*l.c.*, p. 269 f.).

p. 645); *maeom* = blood (EM, IX, p. 2746). As in the case of the Santal (cf. note 17, above), the blood need not be drawn from the thigh (cf. II, p. 645). Cf. DATTA-MAJUMDAR, p. 105 f.

³⁷ The monograph by S. CH. ROY and R. CH. ROY (The Kharias, Ranchi 1937) is not available to me. The data presented here are taken from the EM, VIII, pp. 2333-2350, an article by L. CARDON. The religious life of the Kharia probably differs very little from that of the Munda, who dwell in immediate proximity to them on the Chota Nagpur plateau. Thus, *e.g.*, the ceremony of recalling the soul (cf. B, VIII, below) is very similar in the two tribes (cf. EM, p. 2344 f. and ROY, Mundas, pp. 463 ff.).

³⁸ The Korwa are a connecting link between the Munda peoples in their principal habitat of Chota Nagpur and the Korku residing in Central India. The discrepancies in the still scanty data about them is a natural consequence of this great dispersion of the tribe.

³⁹ MAJUMDAR, Social Organization, pp. 105 and 108. Magicians found among the Korwa are *baigas*, *ojhas*, *patharis* and *bhagats* (p. 111).

5. The Korku

Here we must distinguish the *parihar* from the *bhumka*. The former is "visited with the divine afflatus or selected as a mouthpiece by the deity". Formerly, to prove his occult powers, he had to scourge himself before the eyes of the villagers with "a rope into which the ends of nails were twisted" (RUSSEL, III, p. 561 f.). The fact of such a test would seem to point to a previous training and initiation. He relieves aches and pains by apparently sucking small particles of bone out of the body (*l. c.*, p. 562).

Parihars are rather rare, but every village has its *bhumka*, who is doubtless the old Munda village priest. The office is usually hereditary. When a new one must be chosen, the men sit in a long row near the shrine of the village deity (*cf.* RN., p. 70), and the *parihar* — or if none present, the oldest man there — starts a small grain-measuring vessel rolling along in front of them. The man before whom the vessel comes to rest is regarded as the choice of the village deity to be the new priest ⁴⁰. Many *bhumkas* were renowned for their power over the tiger-god (RUSSEL, *l. c.*, p. 560 f.). Here we have an infiltration of magic that must have some connection with the advance of Hinduism (*cf. l. c.*, p. 555). The same must be said of the practice of swaying a lamp to and fro over the rice that had previously been waved back and forth above a sick person (*l. c.*, p. 560) ⁴¹.

DALTON'S report is somewhat at variance with the above. However, he has the Korku of Berar primarily in mind, and these, according to RUSSEL (*l. c.*, p. 550), comprise only a fifth of the tribe. The *baiga* is the "medium of communication". At the conjuring of spirits, even the non-dancers are subject to such phenomena as convulsions and dishevelled hair (DALTON, p. 232 f.).

6. The Juang ⁴²

Witchcraft probably played but a small part in their life formerly (*cf.* p. 11). "Hindu ideas and practices" are becoming widespread of late (p. 128).

The Juang have two kinds of priests: the *dihuri* and the *bhuitar* ⁴³.

⁴⁰ The grain-measuring vessel is also used for divination when a village is moved. It is filled with grain and placed before the shrine of the village deity (*Mutua Deo*). Any increase in the contents of the vessel is a favorable omen (*l. c.*, p. 561). Concerning the moving of villages, *cf.* RN., pp. 90 ff.

⁴¹ It should be noted that the custom of waving grain over a sick person is apparently common throughout North and Middle India. In describing this custom among the Bhil (they make a "copy" of the sickness with the grain and take this to the diviner), KOPPERS (Bhil, p. 234, with note 512) refers to an identical practice of the Munda (EM, IV, pp. 1026, 1089) and of the Baiga (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 378). For the Bhuiya *cf.* further II, 1, below; and for the Bhil, besides KOPPERS, also JUNGBLUT, p. 3. It is also mentioned in the *Baranda* legend of the Munda (EM, II, p. 462; about *Baranda v. B.* IV and note 128, below). Among the Birhor a chicken is waved over the sick (*cf.* I, 11, 5, below).

⁴² References in the text are to ELWIN'S "Notes on the Juang". In the introduction (pp. 7 ff.), ELWIN deals with the literature about this tribe. The "Notes" are the most comprehensive description we have of the Juang.

⁴³ In some cases the village headman (*padhan*) is also the priest (as was originally

The "diviner and magician" is called *rau-uria* ; he is a man of great influence (p. 32), particularly if he is at the same time a priest (p. 137). Some *rau-urias* make themselves known by a "peculiar sensitiveness to 'inspiration' ". Some — but not all — *rau-urias* receive special training from a teacher ; it concludes with a public examination. The methods of the *rau-uria* resemble those described by ELWIN in "The Baiga" (*v. below*). These include the use of the winnow and the stirring of rice in it, furthermore the use of the gourd and the "measuring stick". The incantations are different, however (p. 137). The *rau-uria* acts as a witch detector (p. 138). Such practices as divination with a human fetus are certainly nothing original, nor is the occurrence of a famous female *rau-uria* (*cf. l. c.*).

ELWIN calls the *rau-uria* a shaman (*cf. pp. 137 ff.*). He may be the exact counterpart of the *sokha* among the Santal and the Munda. In any case, the witch hunt must be a more recent feature (*v. below*, B, II & IV). One myth connects the first *rau-uria* with the origin of witchcraft. The high god *Mahaprabhu* (*Mahaprurub*) carried on a losing fight against *Rusain*, the primeval witch (and ancestral mother, *cf. p. 117*) ; he therefore made the *rau-uria* her adversary (p. 133 f.).

7. The Asur

There is a sharp distinction between the village priest ⁴⁴, the *baiga* or *pahan* — who is a village official — and the spirit-conjurer, the *devair*, who holds no official post. The priest keeps the ritual winnow in his house. The office is hereditary. In the event of repeated disasters, however, the selection of a new priest might be deemed necessary. The village magistrate is conducted, by the magic power of the winnow, toward the one singled out for the office (pp. 47 ff.).

The *devair* studies "at least three years, under another spirit conjurer". At the great village festivals he is "called in to assist the priest". Each family requires the services of the *devair* twice a year, "that is, before planting and before the harvest". The ceremony he performs is to guard the family against the evil eye, or against poisonous (more precisely, "flattering") words (p. 39 f.). This reminds one a good deal of the Munda ; in fact, the *individual* services rendered by the *devair* parallel those of the Munda *deora* (*cf. EM, IV, pp. 1026, 1032 ff.*).

In the year 1936, RUBEN observed the *devair* functioning at the first great festival of the Asur, called *Khervaij*, which is celebrated in December.

the case among the Munda, *cf. I, 2, above*). In Pal Lahara the veneration of ancestors and part of the marriage and burial ceremonies were among the *bhuitar's* duties, while the *dihuri's* jurisdiction extended to the clearing of new land for cultivation. In some villages the *dihuri* preserves the sacred seed in his house (p. 32). He takes charge of the hunting ceremonies (p. 32) during which he offers the "thigh-blood" sacrifice (p. 55). Although in Pal Lahara the *bhuitar* was more important than the *dihuri*, we must nevertheless regard the *dihuri* as the original village priest and the *bhuitar* as the village priest's assistant, as we find it among other Munda peoples. The office of *dihuri* is hereditary like that of *padhan* (*cf. p. 33*).

⁴⁴ References in the text are to RUBEN, Eisenschmiede.

The *devair* stirred raw rice in a winnow and pronounced the names of the spirits in rapid-fire phrases; he struck excitedly at the rice and shook the winnow ⁴⁵. The description makes it sound very much like a case of shamanistic possession ⁴⁶.

Concerning the Asur of Barway, who live between the Oraon and the Sadan, the EM states (I, p. 238, according to DEJAEGER) : "Belief in witchcraft exists together with the usual practice of applying to the *soka* for finding out witches." RUBEN makes the important observation that there are apparently no *sokhas* of Asur blood (p. 39).

8. The Savara

Those having to do with the Savara cult are : the *boya* (= *baiga* ?), who holds the office of "high priest" and also has a voice in civil affairs (p. 343) ⁴⁷; and the *kudang*, who is the intermediary for the world of spirits and the dead (pp. 337 ff.).

The ordinary method of the *kudang* for discovering the cause of a sickness consists in throwing grains of rice into an oil flame (p. 337). In other parts of the Savara country, however, the *kudang* feels the patient's pulse, then goes into a trance "in which the deity or *Kulba* [spirit of the dead] causing the sickness communicates with the *kudang*". He usually fasts "when engaged in divination" (p. 338).

⁴⁵ When RUBEN says (p. 39) that the *devair* carries no winnow when he offers sacrifice, this statement is to be understood *precisely* as it stands, *i. e.*, when he offers sacrifice. RUBEN himself saw the *devair* use the winnow during incantations. In his article „Schamanismus im alten Indien“ (p. 165), RUBEN also notes that the *devair* has a winnow. — RUBEN explains the function of the *devair* at the *Khervaij* festival in this wise : he invites „alle Götter und den Sonnengott als den höchsten, . . . um sie zum Dorfpriester zu bringen“ (Eisenschmiede, p. 54). On the following page he speaks of the „in Blattbechern gefangenen Gottheiten“, which the *devair* buried in a hole. In his article „Schamanismus im alten Indien“, he clarifies his opinion by stating that the people thus make absolutely certain of the „Teilnahme der Götter [am Opfer]“. He there (p. 165) refers to an alleged parallel in the Rigveda, where the priest beholds the invited deities seated at the place of sacrifice. As to this it should be noted that : 1. No other Munda tribe treats the high god *Singbonga* in this way, and RUBEN offers no proof that the Asur do so ; 2. in those cases where spirits (not deities) are captured (*cf.* B, VII, 2), the purpose is to render evil spirits harmless — the interpretation of making certain that they take part in the sacrifice is unwarranted ; 3. any such effort would be a needless one, because the spirit world of the northern Indian tribes is regarded as actually craving for sacrifices.

⁴⁶ RUBEN expresses no opinion about this question. It may be that, because of his idea of the nature of shamanism (*cf.* B, note 197), he gave no special thought to the matter. It is unfortunate that during his two-month sojourn among the Asur (the winter of 1936-37, *cf.* p. 4), he had no opportunity to speak privately with a *devair* (p. 40). — It sometimes happens that those who participate in the *Khervaij* festival pass into trances (p. 56 and ill. 19).

⁴⁷ Page numbers in the text refer, with the exception of the references to S. N. ROY, first to the description of the Savara in THURSTON, VI, pp. 305-347, and then to ELWIN's work : The Religion of an Indian Tribe.

In the course of the cure described by FAWCETT (in THURSTON), the *kudang*'s assistant beats a tom-tom. The actions performed by the *kudang* during the long ceremony — to the accompaniment of ecstatic song and dance — are deserving of special notice. He took a small, "toy-like bow", to which was attached an arrow with a large head and, while in the act of dancing and singing, shot the arrow towards the sun. "He then fired balls of wax, and afterwards other small balls, which the Uriyas present said were medicine of some kind, at the boy's (*i. e.*, the patient's) head, stomach and legs". After that he shot at the head of the sacrificial buffalo. As soon as the boy's father had struck the buffalo with the first blow of the axe, the *kudang* had a fit of craving for blood; "he struggled violently as if striving to get to the bleeding buffalo". His assistant had to restrain him from throwing himself on the bleeding animal. The boy's father handed him a cup of the blood, which he gulped down greedily, then he quieted down. Next he began beating the tom-tom; he kept this up for several hours, with occasional interruptions. For one stretch of twenty-five minutes he beat steadily at the rate of 156 beats per minute. He was the only one who did not partake of the sacrificial meal (pp. 338 ff.). In the account of another, similar, healing a "wise woman", known as a *beju*, officiates. She, too, works with a bow and arrow, shooting medicine balls all over the body of the sick woman. Of the other articles above, only the rice balls are mentioned (p. 344 f.).

The *kudang* is also the "medium of communication" between the living and the dead. At the first service for the deceased, which usually takes place three or four days after the corpse has been cremated, the *kudang* enters into communication with the spirit of the deceased (p. 325 f.; *cf.* also p. 336 f.). The *kudang* hangs up ancestral fetishes in homes, especially in the district of Kolakotta⁴⁸ (p. 334). At the solemn biennial festival of the dead, held in Kolakotta, during which many buffaloes are slaughtered, it is he who offers the sacrifices to the dead (p. 327 f.).

According to S. N. ROY, the women of both the permanently settled Saur (Savara dwelling on the Orissa plain) and of the *Patara* (Leaf) Savara (who still practice shifting cultivation and move their villages from place to place) have the reputation of being skilful healers. They cure sicknesses caused by the witches' "eye" as well as those brought on by spirits. The names of two Savara women, who are said to have lived in the Puri District, play a considerable role in sorcery and are invoked in every incantation (S. N. ROY, p. 297).

S. N. ROY further mentions the "physician god" *Banti*, the son of a goddess. He issues his commands through an inspired person by the name of *Kalshi* (*l. c.*, p. 324). This is, of course, a case of Hindu influence.

After this paper had been given its final form, ELWIN's book "The Religion of an Indian Tribe" appeared. This monograph contains very detailed, and indeed welcome, data on the shamanism of the Savara of the Ganjam

⁴⁸ „... hoch oben in den Bergwildnissen und im Kerngebiet der Sora" (Savara) (v. EICKSTEDT, p. 207).

and Koraput Districts in the modern State of Orissa (*cf.* p. 6). It should be noted, however, that ELWIN's description is not entirely free from an idealizing note.

Of the persons who are of interest to us the first to be mentioned is the *buyya*, "a village official who performs the office of priest in most of the Ganjam villages" (p. 128). Whilst as a village official he is generally the head of one of the quarters of a village, he acts as *buyya* for the whole of it, and ELWIN remarks that he is "essentially a priest" (p. 128 f.). Contrary to the conditions in Ganjam, there are no *buyyas* in "most of the Koraput villages", and "the Saoras there say that one reason why the Ganjam Saoras are so much poorer . . . is that they depend on priests instead of shamans to conduct their ceremonies" (p. 129). In the light of the general conditions prevailing among the Munda-speaking peoples this can only mean that the influence of the original priesthood has been waning whilst the shaman has become more important. ELWIN actually calls him "the most important religious figure in a Saora village" (p. 130).

"The priest's function is hereditary", but when a new one is appointed, "a shaman is called and he, falling into trance, asks the gods and ancestors whether the proposed candidate is acceptable to them" (p. 129).

The shaman is called *kuranmaran*. ELWIN distinguishes (p. 131 f.) five kinds of shaman. "The first, and probably the most important, are the *raudakumbmarans*." The second type are the *guarkumbmarans*. ELWIN gives no names for the following three types, and they can hardly be considered shamans because they are (usually) not capable of trance. They are, somehow or other, diviners and medicine men. Two more religious functionaries may be mentioned here: the *idaimaran* and his female counterpart, the *idaiboi*. The work of both is limited to funerary rites. An *idaimaran* may, however, become a shaman (pp. 141-144).

An element of special interest in Savara shamanism is the spiritual marriage of the shaman. "Every shaman has a tutelary-wife in the Under World" (p. 130). It is from her that a *raudakumbmaran* learns his duties in dreams and trance. The *guarkumbmaran* is likewise married to a tutelary, but he cannot learn his duties from dreams, he has to be trained for them by another shaman. His functions are largely confined to funerary rites (p. 131), which is already indicated by the name *guarkumbmaran*, the *guar* being one of the great rites for the dead (*cf.* pp. 358-375). The *raudakumbmaran* (the verb *raud* means to faint, to be in trance, to be under the power of a spirit — *cf.* p. 145), on the other hand, is "qualified to perform the great rituals" and he can deal "with all the small routine matters that constantly arise". But he does not assist in funerary rites. However, in some areas no clear distinction is drawn between the different functions (p. 131).

"The office of shaman is not hereditary, but in practice it often runs in families", and the impetus to become a shaman often seems "to arise from dreams about a father's tutelary". The fact that a *raudakumbmaran* learns his duties in dreams does not seem to exclude a training by his own father or by another relative (*cf.* p. 133). A young man "often reacts strongly against the

suggestion that he should become a shaman", but once the surrender is made he regains his health and peace (p. 133).

According to a story which ELWIN recorded, the first shaman was created by *Kittung* whom ELWIN is inclined to consider the Supreme Being of the Savara (cf. p. 94).

Whilst a woman may never become a *buyya*, shamanesses are frequent among the Savara; sometimes their number is even larger than that of the shamans. They are called *kuranbois* and like the shamans they fall into the categories of *raudakumbois* and *guarkumbois* (cf. p. 145). A shamaness (ELWIN says *shamanin*, from the German „Schamanin“) is called to her profession through a dream at the time of her puberty. In a similar way as the shaman she is married to a (male) tutelary spirit. She, too, first tries to resist the call. In the beginning she learns from other shamanesses "until she is thoroughly adept and experienced". Her main function is the treatment of the sick (pp. 145-148). ELWIN describes at length the spiritual marriage of shamanesses (pp. 148-171).

A shaman, especially a shamaness, "must never do the actual killing of an animal" (p. 189), which seems to be a further indication that priestly functions are originally alien to Savara shamanism.

Shamans as well as shamanesses drink liquor to excess (cf. e. g. pp. 134, 148 f., 167, 251, 270, 358, 480 ff.). This, of course, impairs the genuineness of present day shamanism among the Savara, although liquor is even mentioned in a story about the origin of shamanism (p. 131).

ELWIN came across a eunuch who practiced as a shamaness and also dressed as a woman. However, his (bodily) "male characters were rather more prominent" (p. 164).

As regards the paraphernalia used by Savara shamans (and shamanesses) the following points deserve to be mentioned. The winnowing fan "is in constant use by the shamans in ceremonies of divination. To rub rice in a fan is perhaps the most usual method of inducing trance" (p. 204). In the story on the origin of shamanism, just mentioned, *Kittung* puts rice in a new fan and gives this to the first shaman, called *Baori* (p. 131). A shamaness whose experiences ELWIN recorded was taught the use of the winnowing fan by her tutelary (p. 153).

ELWIN, too (see supra: FAWCETT) mentions the use of bow and arrow by Savara shamans. He states in particular that during certain rites the shaman shoots at the patient with a special bow and arrow (p. 196). Later (pp. 267-271) he describes shamanistic treatments of disease, which are very similar to the treatment described by FAWCETT to whom he also refers (p. 270). He also observed especially the beating of a *drum* by the shaman at an increasing speed (p. 268).

Peacocks' feathers are often used by shamans for brushing a patient's body "in order to extract some material substance which has been sent into it by a sorcerer" (p. 196). A shamaness "uses the fan and the lamp, the bow and the sword, handfuls of rice and pots of wine" (p. 148). As regards the use of the lamp, a shamaness of the Pottasingi area is not regarded as "confirmed"

in her dedication "until she has received the gift of a lamp from an older woman who has initiated her" (p. 199 ; *cf.* p. 153).

Furthermore, shamans use a musical instrument, called *kurānrājan*. "It is made of a bamboo about two feet long, with a headpiece carved in the form of a peacock's head". It has two fibre strings, "and a large gourd is attached by its back to the bamboo neck" (*cf.* fig. 22, p. 212). ELWIN calls it the most important ritual instrument "at whose music the dead and the gods come and dance before the shaman". It must be made by the shaman himself and it often helps him pass into trance (p. 211). Finally, "bunches of little brass shells are worn by shamans when they dance ceremonially . . . , and sometimes strings of a large bean or seed are attached to the ankles" (p. 212).

In the rites for the dead, which ELWIN describes in full detail (pp. 339-400), shamans and shamanesses play an important role. They are possessed by their tutelaries, (other) gods, and the deceased (*cf.* pp. 354-358 ; 370 ; 372 ff.). During the last of the ceremonies, called *karja*, a bamboo pole is let through the roof of the house where the rite is held, until it stands on the ground in the main room. ELWIN calls it the "heavenly ladder", and during the ceremony which he witnessed (February 1945), it was in evidence throughout the rite. The shamanesses spread a new mat before it and made a cock perch on a projecting branch of the ladder (p. 381).

The Savara like to make drawings on the wall of their homes in honor of the dead, to avert disease, etc. (p. 401). Shamans often go into this art (*ibid.*), and "ikons are always painted at the time of a marriage between a shaman and his tutelary or a shamanin and hers" (p. 429). ELWIN attended the dedication of an ikon which a shaman had made for his tutelary. The shaman passed into trance and his tutelary came upon him (p. 404).

9. The Gadaba

FÜRER-HAIMENDORF ⁴⁹ (p. 154) distinguishes between the village priest, *sisā*, of the Bodo Gadaba, and their *dissari*, "a seer and magician". RAMADAS calls them, respectively : *bejju* and *disari*, and translates both words as "priest" (pp. 168 and 170), but the one called *bejju* is obviously a shaman (or a shamaness — more about the sex a little later). PADDISON (Th. II, p. 250) likewise speaks of "priest or priestess" in treating of these shamans. It would appear that the village priest is relegated to the background by the *bejju*. RAMADAS's *disari* seems to correspond in every way to FÜRER-HAIMENDORF's *sisā* ⁵⁰.

The *bejju* officiates at the great ten-day fertility festival which takes place at the beginning of the planting season. The rites center around nine

⁴⁹ References in the text are to FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Megalithic Ritual* ; RAMADAS, *The Gadabas* ; THURSTON, II, pp. 242-252 (data by G. F. PADDISON) ; FUCHS, *Children of Hari*.

⁵⁰ RAMADAS himself makes a clear distinction between the village priest and the shaman-magician when he says : "The *Disari* or the village priest . . ." (p. 167 ; *cf.* 168) and : "The priest, who is called a *bejju* . . ." (p. 170).

dishes filled with earth from an anthill, in each of which is sown a different variety of grain. With drawn sword the *bejju* performs the devil dance, in front of the tent where the nine dishes are kept. On the tenth day the seedlings are borne in procession to the shrine of *Nisan devata*, the village goddess. The *bejju* sits on a swing, the seat of which is studded with sharp thorns projecting upward (RAMADAS, p. 170 f.). PADDISON reports that "at the fire-walking ceremony at Nuvagode in Ganjam, the priest sits on a thorny swing, and is endowed with prophetic powers" (TH., II, p. 251).

RAMADAS regards the *bejju* simply as an ordinary man. According to PADDISON, however, the shaman who undertakes the swing ceremony must be a eunuch. If there is no eunuch in the village, a woman must perform the ceremony (TH., II, p. 250 f.)⁵¹.

The ceremonial planting and germination of various kinds of grain are also found among the Balahi of Nimar District (FUCHS, pp. 321 ff.). This festivity likewise lasts ten days. The *barwa*, a shaman, plays the leading role. The seedlings represent *Bhawani mata*, "the mother of all the *barwas* (magicians)".

Several years after the death⁵² of prominent men (according to RAMADAS, of all fathers of families), numerous buffalo sacrifices are offered for them. Among the Bodo-Gadaba the magician (*dissari*) officiates⁵³. He need not be from the village of the one who arranges the affair. He gives the sign for the men, who stand ready with their axes, to strike down the buffaloes (FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, p. 154 ff.)⁵⁴.

10. The Bondo

Their (material) culture⁵⁵ has apparently undergone very little change for thousands of years (*cf.* p. 3 f.), but Hindu influences are having a marked effect in the religious sphere (*cf.* p. 161).

⁵¹ In East Bengal, the priest of a certain goddess of sickness, a form of *Durga*, must be a hermaphrodite. "In lieu of a genuine hermaphrodite, men wear women's clothing, put shell bracelets on their wrists... and live unmarried all their lives" (S. CH. MITRA, p. 52).

⁵² On the third and the tenth days after a cremation, the Gadaba hold ceremonies (customary also among other tribes) in honor of the deceased (RAMADAS, p. 171 f.; FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, p. 152 f.).

⁵³ The sole function of the village priest consists in the offering of a chicken sacrifice eight days before the celebration.

⁵⁴ This appalling slaughter of buffaloes is also carried out in identical fashion in the Himalayas; *cf.* EDWIN T. ATKINSON, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Allahabad 1874-84, Vol. XI, p. 852.

⁵⁵ Page numbers in the text refer to ELWIN, *Bondo Highlander*. The reference to RAMADAS is to his article "Porajas"; that to FÜRER-HAIMENDORF is to his "Megalthic Ritual". — The Bondo (together with the Gadaba and Jhoria) are also known as Poroja (Poraja), though according to ELWIN (*l. c.*, p. 3, note 1) "this practice should be abandoned". They call themselves *remo* = men (ELWIN, *l. c.*, p. 1). THURSTON treats of them under the heading "Poroja" (VI, pp. 207 ff.). They seem to have a close connection with the Gadaba; the latter refer to them as "*San* (little) Gadabas" (ELWIN, *l. c.*, p. 2). — As to the ethnic position of the Bondo, *cf.* FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *The Reddis*, p. 331 f.

Each village has two priests (*sisā*), "a chief and his assistant", as the religious ministers for the community at public festivities. As in the case of the Munda priests (*cf.* EM, II, p. 385 f.), unmarried boys (*cf.* p. 164 " 'virgin' boy") are at the service of the *sisā*. He is closely associated with the *sindibor*, the circular stone shrine in honor of the village goddess *Bursung* or *Hundi* (*cf.* p. 152 f.)⁵⁶. The priesthood must be considered hereditary in principle. The head of the family acts as the family priest (pp. 159 ff.).

The *dissari* is the "shaman or medicine-man" for the needs of the individual or the community. He holds his position "through the favor of the gods", and has no ties with any tribe. He arrives at his diagnoses "by means familiar throughout aboriginal India", *viz.*, the winnow and the bottle gourd (*v.* Baiga, below). He swings on "the seat woven with thorns, sharp ends upright" (p. 111 f. with drawing) and imbibes alcohol freely (p. 160 f.). There are no witches among the Bondo, but black magic is practiced by the men (p. 188 f.).

The Bondo hold a ten-day fertility festival in January-February (p. 174 ff.) and the festival of the seed blessing a month later. On this occasion the *sisā* officiates before the *sindibor* of the earth goddess. The magic swelling of the seed grain in a bamboo vessel is hailed as a favorable omen (pp. 178 ff.).

When the soul (shade) of the deceased is recalled, on the tenth day after death, one of the pallbearers is possessed by the soul of the deceased, at the moment that he strikes a hoe with a hatchet (RAMADAS, p. 252). For the deceased father or other member of a well-to-do family, a small dolmen is erected about three years after death. At this ceremony an elderly man represents the deceased, and a boy acts as his assistant (FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, pp. 166 ff.)⁵⁷.

11. The Birhor

In contrast with the simplicity of their material culture, the religious life of the Birhor⁵⁸ is rather complex. The EM points out (II, p. 428) that the Birhor have been affected by external factors to a greater extent than the Munda.

The shaman-magicians are called *mati* or *deonra* (p. 361 f.). A sensitive temperament is generally regarded as an important qualification for this office (pp. 66, 364 f.), though anyone may be accepted for it (p. 365 f.). The *mati* acquires "a familiar spirit or a tutelary deity" while in a dream or a trance (p. 365; *cf.* p. 121 f.). Recent Hindu influences are clearly discernible (*cf.* p. 365 f.). In the trance the soul is presumed to "temporarily pass from the physical world and function in the spirit-world" (p. 318 f.). The novice

⁵⁶ For particulars about the stone circles of the Bondo and the Bodo-Gadaba, together with a brief survey of the occurrence of such megaliths elsewhere in India, Indochina, etc., *v.* FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Megalithic Ritual*, pp. 170 ff.

⁵⁷ Additional details about the Bondo cult of the dead may be found in ELWIN, *l. c.*, pp. 215 ff.; RAMADAS, *l. c.*, pp. 251 ff.; THURSTON, VI, p. 216 f.

⁵⁸ References in the text are to ROY, *The Birhors*. — The Birhor are essentially still primitive hunters; *cf.* ROY, pp. 43 ff.

generally submits to the direction of an older *mati* (p. 318 ; cf. p. 66). There seem to be special schools for shamans (cf. p. 365 f.). Roy has probably idealized the figure of the *mati* (cf. p. 361 f.).

There are often several *matís* in a single sustenance unit (p. 66). Each such group also has its own priest, called *naya*, who is at the same time the civil head as a *primus inter pares* (p. 63 f.). He offers the sacrifices specified by the *mati* (p. 67 ; cf. pp. 81, 341 f.), though the latter also offers sacrifices, sometimes for others (cf. p. 316), sometimes to his own tutelary spirit (p. 319).

The *mati* performs the following functions :

1. When the old priest (and head of the group) dies, he announces — in a trance — who the successor will be. The one chosen is, to be sure, almost invariably the son of the deceased *naya* (p. 63 f.) ;

2. He determines from which hills the people must stay away (for seven days) following the birth of a child (p. 67) ;

3. If the ritual spring hunt has been unsuccessful, he determines by means of his divining rod or by leaf divination which spirits were responsible for the failure (p. 81) ;

4. On the occasion of weddings he predicts (by stirring rice in a winnow while in a trance) the future fortunes of bride and groom (pp. 171 ff.) ;

5. He endeavors to find out the causes of sickness, first with the aid of a jerking axe. If this fails, he resorts to rice-stirring in the winnow. The spirit, thus compelled, takes possession of the *mati* and makes his wishes known (pp. 314 ff.). The *mati* also has recourse to these two methods in the event of repeated failures in the hunt (pp. 344 ff.). In certain cases he cures sickness by waving a chicken back and forth over the sick person and then immolating it (pp. 257 ff., 346 ff.).

6. On the seventh or ninth day after a corpse has been cremated, he summons back the soul of the deceased to its dwelling. He does this from the spot where the corpse was put down on the way to the funeral, to give the bearers a rest. The deceased takes possession of the *mati*, and states the cause of his death (pp. 276 ff.). The *mati*, in a trance, consigns mothers who die within twenty-one days after their delivery, or babies who die within that time after birth, to the custody of a hill spirit or jungle spirit (pp. 266 ff.) ;

7. He advises and assists the *naya* at the sacrifices to the group (*tanda*) spirits (cf. p. 50). On these occasions he is possessed by the clan spirit, or by *Mahadeo* or *Devi* (pp. 339 ff., with note 28 ; cf. p. 304).

Witchcraft has not developed to any great extent among the Birhors (p. 366).

II. Aryan-language Tribes

1. The Bhuiya

Although the Bhuiya⁵⁹ and the Baiga now speak Aryan languages, they should, in all probability, be numbered with the Munda peoples (cf. note 62, below).

⁵⁹ References are to Roy, The Hill Bhuiyas.

Information about magic among the Bhuiya is rather meager. We do have some data, however, about the Hill Bhuiya in the States of Bonai and Kheonjhar. They have four types of magicians : *pangni*, *daini* ⁶⁰, *raunria* and *gunia*. The first two are witches. They transmit their powers to other women by teaching them the art ; the *pangnis* usually train their own daughters (p. 258 f. ; on *pangnis*, cf. EM, XI, p. 3241).

The *gunia* (cf. note 32, above) limits his practice to the curing of snake bites and certain other wounds. To this end he employs spells, blows on the patient, or makes passes over him with his hands (p. 258).

The *raunria*, in looking for the cause of a disease (a spirit), divines with a variety of grass (*sir-khal*). He waves a handful of sun-dried rice and pounded turmeric over the patient's head (p. 259 f.). He is the witches' adversary. Some *raunrias* are said to have powerful tutelary spirits (p. 257 f.).

The term *raunria* is probably identical with the *rau-uria* of the Juang (cf. p. 691, above). The question arises whether there is also a connection with the *raranic* of the Santal (cf. p. 683, above).

The village priest of the Hill Bhuiya, the *dihuri*, is the minister of public worship, and together with the village headman (*naek*, *padhan*) is the community leader "in all social, socio-religious and socio-political matters". His office is hereditary ; his badge of office, a bamboo basket. If a *dihuri* dies without male issue, his successor is divulged by means of rice divination, in an assembly of the men, and the sacred basket is entrusted to his care. He must see that no one else touches it. In the States of Kheonjhar and Pal Lahera, a new priest is chosen in the event of public disasters (pp. 81 ff. ; 232 ff.). One of the *dihuri*'s duties is the ceremonial sowing of rice on a miniature field (p. 234).

The shadow-souls of the dead (except for mothers who died in childbirth, etc.) are brought back to their homes from their place of burial or cremation, some time between the third and the eleventh day afterward, amid the clanging of metal objects (pp. 200 ff.). The Hinduized Bhuiya of the plains perform the (Hindu) *Śrāddha* ceremony on the tenth day (Appendix B, p. xxvi ; regarding this ceremony, cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, pp. 276 ff.).

2. The Baiga

ELWIN ⁶¹ estimates their number at about 40,000. They are found especially (half the total number) in Mandla, and in Balghat, Kawardha, Jubbulpore, Bilaspur (p. 522). They are related to the Bhuiya, and like the latter consider themselves the original settlers of the country ⁶². Another

⁶⁰ = witch ; cf. EM, VIII, p. 2336 : *tonhi*, *dain* ; ELWIN, Baiga, p. 541.

⁶¹ Page numbers in the text refer to ELWIN, The Baiga. RUSSELL is quoted : R. II.

⁶² "The Baiga appear to be a branch of the great Bhuiya tribe, which still numbers half a million in Bengal and Bihar..." (p. 2). According to RUSSELL (II, p. 310), the Baiga emigrated from the plain of Chhattisgarh (on the east) to the barren hill country where they now live (cf. ELWIN, p. 3). — The Baiga like to call themselves *Bhumiaraja*, lords of the soil (pp. 4 and 318 ; Skr. *bhumi* = earth, soil). This root occurs in the names of several tribes whose ethnic position is identical with that of the Baiga ; cf. besides the Bhuiya, the Bhinjhwar, Bhumia and Bhunjia. Cf. III, 1, a, below (the Bhuniar).

significant thing is that their tribal name "Baiga" has the further meaning of priest, or sorcerer, or medicine-man ⁶³ among a number of tribes living over a wide area (p. 3 f. ; R. II, pp. 78 f. and 312 f.).

The magicians of the Baiga themselves are called : *gunia*, *dewar*, *barua* and *panda*. It should first of all be noted that the Baiga do not seem to have a priesthood in the proper sense ; if one existed previously it must have been swallowed up in magic.

The *panda* would seem to be a recent phenomenon. He "is a clairvoyant. He divines by dreams and visions". The spirits whisper in his ear. "He has no need of any apparatus" (p. 344).

The *gunia* (cf. note 32, above) is, generally speaking, magician, medicine-man and shaman, all in one person. Often, if not as a rule, the "office" is kept within the family, passing to a son (or sons), grandson, son-in-law (pp. 342 f., 132, 169, 166 ; but cf. 159). Anyone, however, may receive the call to it in a dream, even from the deity itself. Even women may be *gunias*. To one female *gunia*, *Phulmat* by name, the twenty-one *Matas* appeared in her election vision (p. 137). Another *gunia* (male) saw "all the gods, the twelve *Dewar* and the fifty-six *Guru*" (p. 158) ; another saw "some god" (p. 145).

"Young *gunia* are taught as if they were in a school" ; thus there exists a systematic training program. The younger *gunias* frequently complain that their parents do not tell them everything (p. 343 ; cf. p. 377).

An initiation is held. This consists, *e. g.*, in the disciple drinking a liquid after the teacher first took it into his own mouth (p. 343). This is reminiscent of the Santal initiation (*v. A*, I, 1, above). One *gunia*, during a vision, had to drink the water in which the gods had bathed their feet (p. 159). In Diwali, the pupil goes to the *guru* with a winnow and some presents. The latter places a little rice in the winnow and says : "From today the *Mata* will visit you ; from today you will be a *gunia*. Now you will be able to 'see'" (p. 343).

The *gunia Phulmat* once experienced a magic flight in a dream. Her *jiv* (cf. p. 359 f.) flew up to heaven and tried to seize the sun. Another time she dreamed that while she was ill she was taken by the gods to the house of *Bhagawan*, the Supreme Being. The carriage came to rest on a tree (p. 138).

The *gunia* must undo his topknot before engaging in his duties ("The Muria shave the head . . . leaving a small tuft"), "or no spirit will be able to approach him" (p. 16 ; cf. p. 302).

The chief duty of the *gunia* is to fight disease and cure it (p. 344). In practice this amounts to a continuous warfare against both witches and invisible beings (pp. 360 ff.). The all-important thing is to make a correct diagnosis (pp. 339 and 366).

The *dewar* is a *gunia* par excellence (p. 343), especially in the sense that he is *always* a shaman as well. Apparently, however, the *gunias* are not other-

⁶³ Thus the designation *Baiga* represents a parallel to Munda = "village headman", which has become the name of a Kolarian tribe (RUSSELL, III, p. 313). The EM observes, without, however, offering any proof, that the Kolarian village organization, under the authority of a headman, "so struck the Aryans that they were the first to call these headmen *mundas* (Itly. heads), and their people *Mundas*" (VI, p. 1819).

wise classified, although they may differ in ability (*cf.* p. 138). Agricultural rites (*cf.* pp. 354 ff.), defending the village from man-eating tigers (pp. 298 ff. ; 351 ff.) and the calming of earthquakes (p. 330), all fall within the sphere of the *dewar's* official duties. Only with due authorization may a *dewar* perform within a colleague's zone of jurisdiction (p. 343 f.).

The *barua* belongs to a "type of divination where the god speaks directly, through the mouth of a man or woman who has passed into a state of dissociation". There are several *baruas* in each village. "During most ceremonies, and indeed at any time of quickened religious excitement, these persons are liable to fall into a sort of frenzy — they throw themselves on the ground, their limbs twitch spasmodically, they wag their heads desperately to and fro (this is called *jhupna*)⁶⁴, they beat themselves with scourges, they thrust iron spikes through their tongues or cheeks. The god is riding upon them". In this state they lay bare mysteries which the *gunia* does not bring to light by his ordinary methods (p. 381). The dividing lines between *gunia*, *dewar* and *barua* are not very well defined, however (*cf.* p. 381 f.). It is impossible to arrive at a completely satisfactory differentiation. All available evidence seems to show that there are no female *dewars* (?).

One of the *gunia's* two divining methods is the measurement of a stalk (*cf.* p. 377). Here we shall briefly describe the second method, the so-called *sūpa-tuma*.

For this the *gunia* must employ another person as a "control". The *gunia* himself uses a winnow (*sūpa*), while the "control" holds in his hands a gourd (called *tuma*, the "control" is therefore known as *tumhar*). The *gunia* "stirs the rice in his *sūpa*, he asks question after question, and the 'control' replies by shaking the *tuma*..." (p. 377). "There is a little rice in the gourd which makes a sudden, startling rattling noise" (p. 379). The *gunia* sends the gods out as his "detectives". They signal their return "by jerking the *gunia's* hand violently off his *sūpa*". He asks them what they have seen. Sometimes he sees the "Seven Sisters" or the "Twenty-one Mothers" in his winnow. He frequently converses in an intimate manner with the spirits who come to rest there (p. 379). At times he drops his *sūpa* and passes into a trance (pp. 379 and 378). ELWIN believes that the *gunia* and the *tumhar* are sincere.

The *barua* has an elaborate set of equipment. He erects for himself a small shrine, and plants a couple of poles in front of it⁶⁵. Near the shrine he may also have : a wooden ladder, a swing, a rope studded with iron spikes, an iron chain with sharp prongs, a flat board bristling with spikes, and shoes pierced with sharp nails. During his trance he sometimes runs up the ladder without touching it with his hands, and scourges himself with the above-mentioned instruments. He replies to questions either from the ladder or from the spike-studded board. Such performances generally take place on Mondays (p. 381 f. ; *cf.* p. 138). The ladder shown opposite p. 362 leans against a framework supporting a platform, and has seven rungs. Above the platform, as an

⁶⁴ *Cf.* note 10, above.

⁶⁵ The illustration in ELWIN, *The Baiga*, opp. p. 340, shows a pair of such stakes.

extension of the main uprights of the framework, there is a miniature ladder (?) with three rungs.

3. The Bhil

We have an exhaustive monograph on the Bhil by W. KOPPERS (Die Bhil in Zentralindien), which is still readily available. Thus it seems scarcely necessary to give here a summary of the data about their practice of magic. The results of KOPPERS' field work and scientific investigation will be appraised in the second part of this study.

III. Dravidian-speaking Tribes

1. The Oraon

The magical complex (shamanism) of the Oraon is associated with the following persons: the *ojha* (*mati*, *deonra*); the *sokha* or *bhagat*; the *nag-mati* (*nagmotia*), i. e., snake conjurer.

Besides these, there is the village priest, *pahan*; he is called *baiga*, according to DEHON (p. 124) ⁶⁶. In every village where Oraon and Munda live together, the *pahan* is invariably a Munda. This is considered necessary because the Munda, as the earliest inhabitants of the country, are regarded as having a better knowledge of its spirits and divinities. Only if they have no other recourse, do the Oraon choose one of their own tribe to be village priest (cf. ORC, p. 25; D., p. 138; EM, VI, p. 1820) ⁶⁷. He has an assistant, sometimes two of them (ORC, p. 6 f.). His badge of office, the ritual winnow, which he keeps in his house, is looked upon as the seat of the village goddess *Chala Pachcho* (ORC, pp. 8 f., 44, 224) ⁶⁸. In case the office is not hereditary (according to D., p. 3, it is), or whenever for some other reason a new one must be chosen, the man's identity is made known by divination. A round stone, of the type used to grind curry, or a winnow is used for this purpose (D., p. 138 f.). ROY has knowledge only of the latter method, with the ritual winnow (ORC, p. 8 f.). A boy is blindfolded, and the winnow handed to him; the boy's footsteps are then directed by the village goddess to the man of her choice.

a) The *ojha*. — Men possessed of a lively imagination and a retentive memory are regarded as suitable candidates. Their training, under a *guru*, lasts up to three years. Shaman schools exist in almost every village. The head of the school is either the village smith (*lohar*) or any of the earliest

⁶⁶ DEHON, Religion and Customs of the Oraons, is quoted as D. — ORC = ROY, Oraon Religion and Customs.

⁶⁷ The advance of the Oraon toward Chota Nagpur must have been an entirely peaceable one. "The Mundas have no tradition of any war or struggle with the Dravidian Oraons. Nay, the latter say that they were well received by the Mundas... Even to this day there is no trace of ill-feeling, bitterness or antagonism between the two tribes." In the villages from which the Oraon have displaced the Munda, they have retained one of the latter as a smith, in addition to the priest (EM, VI, p. 1820).

⁶⁸ Cf. RN., p. 73 f. — The sacrificial knife is fastened to the winnow (cf. I, 1, above [The Munda]).

settlers of the village (Bhuniar, *cf.* note 62, above), and sometimes a Turi (thus a Kolarian) ⁶⁹. The pupils spend from three to five hours with the *guru* in the evening. Spasmodic states are induced by incantations and by stirring rice in the winnow. Incense is burnt, bells are rung and shells are blown on. When possession takes place, it is usually by spirits of lesser rank. But when *Mahadeo* (*Śiva*) takes possession of one of the pupils, the latter retires into solitude where he ultimately has a vision of *Mahadeo*. After his return he lives as a *sokha* or a *bhagat* (D., p. 147 f. ; ORC, p. 263 f.).

The apprentice *ojha* selects a tutelary spirit of his own choosing (D., p. 148). According to ROY, the goddess *Kali* is the patroness of the *ojhas* (ORC, p. 266) ; this may be an evidence of the further penetration of Hinduism. After examining the pupil in his knowledge of the *mantras*, etc., the *guru* draws a heavy line across the pupil's brow with the blood of an immolated chicken and "from that time he can begin to practice" (D., p. 148).

The *ojha* performs the following duties :

1. He identifies the spirit responsible for a sickness and declares what atonement (appeasement) sacrifice must be offered. — DEHON has a lively description of such a nocturnal séance in a patient's home : the stirring of the rice in the winnow ("stirs the rice, turning it round and round...") and the *ojha's* trance. He beholds the spirits ; his soul apparently goes in search of them. He compels the guilty spirit to enter his winnow and sacrifices a chicken to it (D., p. 148 f).

2. He cleanses people's homes from the spirit of illness. — If a person is not cured immediately, or if other members of the family become ill, a more expensive ceremony must be performed. Since it takes the average man some time to accumulate the funds necessary for this, the *ojha* meanwhile catches the spirit in a cone of leaves and buries this in an anthill. There his tutelary spirit keeps watch over the spirit of illness until such time as the exorcism can take place.

For this ceremony the village smith fashions an iron cone (*singhi*). First come the procedures mentioned under 1. ; these last until about three in the morning, when the entire assembly falls into a trance. The climax of the ceremony comes when the *ojha*, on whose shoulders *Pat* (the hill spirit) ⁷⁰ or some other mighty spirit is 'riding', belabors the evil spirit with an antelope horn in a mad frenzy. One of the pupils picks up a second horn and assists him in this. The spirit is finally imprisoned in the iron cone ⁷¹ with the help of a burning lamp, and while sacrifices are offered it is buried in the anthill. After that the *ojha* welcomes the participants in the now purified house as he would strangers, and assures them that everything is again in order (D., p. 149 f.). ROY's description of this ceremony is more extensive and differs in some

⁶⁹ I have found no information about magic among the Turi, a Munda people (the same is true of the Koda). HAHN also remarks (p. 125) that the Oraon occasionally engage the services of a Turi priest (in the same way as they would a Munda priest).

⁷⁰ *Cf.* RN., p. 74. *Pat* exercises authority over the village spirits.

⁷¹ It apparently makes no difference to them that the spirit has already been captured in the leaf cup and buried in the anthill.

details. However, he too speaks of the winnow, lamp, and cones of leaves and of iron (ORC, pp. 265 ff.).

3. He exposes witches (D., p. 150 f.). — If a sickness persists without abating, it is presumed that a witch has something to do with it. It is the *ojha's* duty to identify her. Again, the nocturnal ceremony is held as under 1. The next morning, in the shadow cast on the water by a grain of seed, the *ojha* recognizes the woman at whom suspicion points. Grimly they direct their steps to the woman's house to force her to confess. If she refuses to do so, the *sokha* is called in (cf. *bhagat* on the next page). According to Roy, many an *ojha*, being something of a quack, starts his career by looking for the "spirit bundle" which the witch is supposed to have concealed, but which in reality he himself had previously hid in some corner of the suspect's house or in the village. With the assistance of his tutelary spirit and with much ado he makes as though he stumbled on to the damning evidence (ORC, p. 267). This reminds one of the buried *bongas* of the Santal (v. I, 14, above).

4. He frightens away from the village the spirits who bring on sickness. — The village priest may also conduct this rite. It consists in having the women of the village resort to a ruse to persuade intruder spirits who cause minor ailments, especially children's diseases, to continue on their way to the edge of the next village (D., p. 152). Another curious sort of phenomenon that (frequently ?) occurs among the women is described as follows. "Suddenly the news spreads that a woman has given birth to a young pig". A tremendous wave of excitement passes through the women of the village. "The whole female population immediately turn out armed with sticks and, running to the nearest village, make a hecatomb of all the pigs they meet. . . . Of course, the women of the village so visited. . . . go to the village nearest to theirs and so on, so that the country is resonant with squeaking and screeching" (D., p. 181). We shall find something similar among the Gond and Maler.

5. He looks for the spirit who has stolen the sacred seed receptacles. — Every village has a sacred spring in which an assortment of all its agricultural products is preserved within hollow bamboos, earthen pots, etc.⁷² If the crops fail for several years in a row, the reason can only be that the spring has been desecrated and the seed receptacles stolen. Accordingly, the village priests get together with the *ojhas* and devise the following scheme: They first conceal the seed receptacles in various hiding places. Then in elaborate ceremonies, sometimes lasting for as long as eight days, they track down the guilty spirit with their lamps and imprison it in an iron cone. A body of *ojhas* officiates, "chanting their incantations and turning the rice in their winnowing fans with frenzy". Even the drummers, and eventually everyone present, pass into a trance. Finally, either an *ojha* or one of the company is seized with a convulsive fit; he becomes the medium through whom the receptacles are "found again", after first searching about here and there for them. This ceremony is known as *bharna uthna*, i. e., "to rise mad" (D., p. 152 f.).

6. He treats married women who have had the misfortune, either to

⁷² Cf. I, 9, above, Gadaba (and Balahi).

bear no children at all, or to lose their children in infancy (according to ROY). — Here again we find the stirring of rice in the winnow and the capture of the spirit in a cone. The spirit is buried either in the house or on an enemy's land. Hence we have here an instance of black magic (ORC, pp. 283 ff.).

b) The *sokha* or *bhagat*. — We must look to Hinduism for an explanation of this individual. He has "nothing in common with the religion of the Oraons" and is the "head sorcerer to whom they have recourse to find out witches" (D., p. 124). We said above (p. 704) that in the shaman schools a pupil is sometimes possessed by *Śiva*, thereby receiving the call to a higher life of asceticism. There are other ways, too, by which the call to become a *bhagat* may come to an Oraon (*bhagat* = devotee of God; ORC, p. 264). *Mahadeo* may appear to him in the form of a stone while he meditates on sleepless nights, or in a dream. On the following morning this stone is said to be actually found on the very spot beheld in the vision (ORC, pp. 264 and 303 ff.).

According to ROY, who doubtless idealizes the *bhagat* somewhat, the latter enjoys a sort of inner vision. People flock to many of the *bhagats* from near and far with their problems. The *bhagat* is able to detect, on a leaf or a flower, the shadow of the spirit that is molesting a village, family or individual (ORC, p. 305). ROY says that the *bhagat* rarely acts as an exorcist (p. 307); DEHON, on the contrary, gives us to understand that shamanistic practices are among his regular functions. People prefer to approach a *bhagat* who lives some distance away and is therefore unacquainted with their troubles. Witches are the primary target of his efforts. He tosses into the fire a few grains of the rice which his clients have brought with them, together with some incense. While shaking his head and staring into the fire he goes into a trance. With the help of questions directed to his clients he describes the witch more and more precisely. Sometimes he directly discloses her name (D., p. 151). The parallel between the Santal *jan* and the Munda *sokha* is clearly evident (v. I, 1 and 2, above).

c) The *nag-mati* (snake conjurer). — He cures snake bites, scorpion stings, also toothaches, etc. He draws the poison or the sickness out of the body with a blade of grass. The *nag-matis* also have schools, in which the pupils meet with their teacher for from two to three years; they spend the entire night from Saturday to Sunday there. Considerably greater demands are made on their memories than on those of the *ojha* and *sokha*. In the school there is erected a mass of earth from an anthill, into which are stuck an iron figure of a cobra and a trident. Each pupil has a grass whip; these are used to awaken dozing fellow pupils. On Sundays the *guru* takes the candidates into the jungle where he shows them the various uses of medicinal herbs. In the evenings there takes place a shamanistic séance, during which the "eight *deotas* that produce trances" take possession of the pupils. The trances are brought on by incantations, music and inhaling perfumed scents (D., pp. 174 ff.).

According to ROY, the *nag-mati*'s equipment consists of a clay lamp, a winnow and a grass whip (ORC, p. 302). DEHON, on the other hand, states: "The insignia of the *ojha* are a winnowing fan and a lamp, and the insignia of the *nagmotia* are a blade of long grass one foot long and a *nagdan*" (*dan* =

flute or shell ?). It is easy to understand how there would be an overlapping at present, but the distinction drawn by DEHON would doubtless have been in effect originally. DEHON likewise mentions the whip of the snake shaman, although he does not include it among his insignia ⁷³. The shamanism of the *nag-matis* with their snake cult, trident, whip and incense, clearly points to northwest India, where all these objects are also found in combination (cf. B, II, 3, below).

2. The Khond

We might characterize those in charge of the Khond cult ⁷⁴, the *jannis* ⁷⁵, as priest-shamans. There were two classes of *jannis* ⁷⁶, one dedicated exclusively to religious duties, and the other free to ply any trade except war. To the first classes was reserved the service of the major divinities, although the lines between them were not sharply drawn. In any case, only the great *janni* was permitted to officiate at the human sacrifice ⁷⁷, while the worship of the war-god was reserved to a special priesthood (or class of shamans).

The office of *janni* was either transmitted from father to son by indoctrination, or somebody was chosen by the direct call of a deity. This call was manifested by the fact that the one selected remained for some time in a lethargic, dreamlike, confused state of mind. During this period the third soul ⁷⁸ of the *janni* abided with the deity and received instruction from him. The office, once assumed, could with few exceptions be resigned again at will.

The great *janni*'s renunciation of the world was something extraordinary. He possessed nothing of his own, refrained from marriage and was not even permitted to gaze upon a woman. He imbibed freely of palm wine, however.

⁷³ During the *Karam* festival, which is held in August-September (cf. EM, VIII, p. 2337) and which the Oraon have taken over from the Hindus, the chief disciple (*pat cela*) or the teacher himself sometimes resorts to a grass whip when the other pupils are unresponsive to spirit possession. It is not altogether clear which school of shamans is meant here. Probably, however, the use of the whip goes back to snake shamanism also in this case, especially since the pupils are taken into the jungle in the morning hours and instructed in the uses of healing herbs (cf. ORC, p. 241 f.).

⁷⁴ This section is based on MACPHERSON, *An Account of the Religion of the Khonds*, pp. 236 ff.

⁷⁵ Is there a connection between the *janni* of the Khond and the *jan* of the Santal and Baiga? A linguistic study of the various names for priest, magician, shaman, village headman, soothsayer, etc., would doubtless bring to light some very helpful information.

⁷⁶ Apart from the absence of human sacrifice, the present-day religious observances of the Khond differ also in many other respects from those in use around the middle of the last century. The same is true of other tribes to some extent.

⁷⁷ Regarding the human sacrifices of the Khond, v. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, Part V, Vol. I, pp. 245 ff. and RUSSELL, III, pp. 274 ff. — Only one of the two religious sects of the Khond offered human sacrifices; cf. RN., p. 47 and B, VII, 4, below.

⁷⁸ The Khond believe that man possesses four souls (soul-faculties); cf. MACPHERSON, *An Account of the Religion*, p. 228. DALTON (p. 297) argues against such a view: "Colonel Campbell and other writers who are acquainted with their habits did not discover that, in their own estimation, they had any souls at all, and this is certainly more in unison with the creed of their neighbours...". There is no need to enter on a discussion of DALTON's view.

Usually he carried with him a broken ax or a broken bow. His allotted share of the sacrifices was a piece of roasted hide. In a word, he was a "wonder of abomination". On the whole, the small *janni* lived like his fellow citizens.

The special functions of the *janni* are as follows :

1. He assists the village headman, the *mullicko*. — The *janni* declares to him the will of the gods. The responsibility for the offering of the sacrifice rests with the *mullicko* himself, but he may appoint anyone he likes to officiate. This holds true only for animal sacrifices, of course, since, as we said earlier, the great *janni* offered the human sacrifices.

2. He discloses the causes of illness. — The *janni* divines by means of a sickle suspended on a taut silk thread. When the sickle sways it is a sign that a deity has descended on to one of the little piles of rice scattered near the patient. Eventually the *janni* is filled with the deity ; his hair falls in disarray, he shakes his head and utters incoherent words. ROSSILLON, writing sixty years later (p. 655), states that the Khond, frightened at the slightest illness, have the *janni* (*djani*) called in.

3. He is in charge of the religious aspects of the hunt. — Every family must contribute to the sacrifice which he prescribes in the event the hunt has been unsuccessful. The gifts are deposited at the sacred stone in the grove of the hunting god *Klambo Pennu*. He usually blesses the hunters' weapons before each expedition.

4. He was in charge of the religious preparations for war. — Before battle, he would offer sacrifice in the presence of the warriors, in the grove of the war-god *Loha Pennu*. If the war-god was favorably disposed, he took possession of the *janni*. The *janni*'s frenzy spread to the others present. At the boundary of enemy territory he would indicate with his sickle who should shoot the first arrow. He also presented the right arm of a slain foe to the war-god.

5. He immolated human sacrifices to the earth-goddess *Tari Pennu*. — He would solemnly address the victim, then strike the first blow with his ax. It is not reported that the *janni* fell into a trance during this sacrifice, but mythology speaks of a trance of the great *janni* in connection with the offering of human sacrifice. For when the relatives of a victim complained to the goddess that she had introduced this heartbreaking custom, the goddess descended upon the *janni* and renewed her demands for human sacrifice ⁷⁹.

The *janni* was also called in on the occasion of some extraordinary calamity, *e. g.*, after a tiger had killed a child who had been tending cattle. He would go into a trance and usually demanded a human sacrifice. If this demand could not be met at once, an ear was cut off a goat and cast to the ground while still bleeding, as a pledge that a human sacrifice would be offered within a year's time (MACPHERSON, *An Account of the Religious Opinions*, p. 180).

⁷⁹ There is something in this myth about the origin of hunting, *viz.*, that a man brought a rat, a serpent and a lizard and inquired whether it was all right to eat them. Then the Earth-Goddess "rested on the *Janni*" and commanded that the animals should be given names and those that could be hunted should be distinguished from those that could not (p. 249).

So far as I can ascertain, earlier reports say nothing about a village priest in the proper sense. More recently, however, ROSSILLON mentions such a personage (p. 656) : « En général, dans chaque village khond, il y a un *tlomba*, un prêtre. » For the veneration of tribal deities the priest is always a Khond. This would seem to show that the priesthood is not a recent innovation. The Khond now have priests known as *panam*, « d'origine hindoue » (*l. c.*), for Hindu deities.

3. The Gond

The Gond, the most numerous of the aboriginal tribes of India, are found scattered throughout that part of the subcontinent which lies between the Vindhya Mountains and the Godavari Gorges. Although the various groups all share the belief that they belong to a single stock, the fact is that they are not a homogeneous population, racially, culturally or linguistically ⁸⁰.

a) The Muria Gond (North Bastar)

Most important of the Muria priests (*gaita*) are those of the clan-god (*Anga*) and the earth-goddess. The latter is also known as the knife priest (*kaser-gaita*) ⁸¹. The priesthood is hereditary, but the deity must ratify the choice of successor by an omen. In certain places a ceremonial hunt serves this purpose (p. 199 f.) ⁸². The priest's influence is "greatly modified by that of the seer" (ELWIN says this is the rule throughout "tribal India"). The two positions are often filled by the same man. The priest must at least consult the magician in all religious affairs.

There are two classes of magicians in Bastar : the *siraha* and the *gunia*. The former sometimes has an assistant, called *leski* ; the two terms are, however, used interchangeably. The *siraha*, with his trances, convulsions, and ecstatic dances, disheveled hair, scourges and whips and his habit of swinging on a spiked board, must be regarded as a shaman. "He is not a priest at all ; he is simply a medium through whom the gods make known their will." He is part of every Muria religious festival (pp. 199 ff.). In Bastar, and among the Muria as well, the horse is connected with shamanism. Thus, "horses" fashioned out of tree roots are employed by the mediums for divination "and to stimulate trance" (p. 209) ⁸³.

In treating the sick, the *siraha* blows away the evil spirits ; he pelts the patient with (luck-bringing) rice, draws the sickness out of the body with movements of his hands, offers up symbols of the patient and carries them away with him. He also makes use of the winnow (and rice-stirring) and of the measuring stick (p. 211) ⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Cf. FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *The Raj Gonds*, pp. 1 ff. In the first part of the introduction the author gives a survey of the entire Gond tribe.

⁸¹ Recall the significance of the sacrificial knife among the Munda and the Oraon (*cf.* I, 1 and note 68, above ; likewise ELWIN, *Bondo*, p. 160).

⁸² The page numbers in the text refer to ELWIN, *The Muria and Their Ghotul* ; likewise for the main source for the other branches of the Gond tribe.

⁸³ ELWIN notes parallels outside of India ; *cf.* ELIADE, p. 406 f.

⁸⁴ ELWIN refers to his description in "The Baiga" (pp. 377 ff. ; *cf.* II, 2, above).

The *gunia* is a magician and medicine man (p. 201). He divines by counting grains of rice or throwing them into the water, or by having a chicken pick up the rice (pp. 211 ff.).

Both the priest and the *siraha* begin to instruct their sons in such arts and practices at a very early age. In cases where the office is not hereditary, boys "of an unusually sensitive temperament" are singled out and trained as eventual successors (p. 202).

Magic practices of the Muria include : the hammering of bits of iron slack (in place of nails) into doors and boundary lines (pp. 212 and 218) and the imprisoning of spirits in gourds and burying them in anthills (p. 218 f.) ⁸⁵.

The Muria conduct the soul of a deceased person back to his abode within three days after death (pp. 152 ff.). The *siraha* makes known the cause of death by divination (pp. 151 and 157 f.). The bond between the living and the dead is considered to be a very close one ; they are mindful of their dead and call upon them for assistance on the most diverse occasions (p. 146 f.).

b) The Maria

α) The Bisonhorn Maria

Each village has, besides the headman and his assistant, two priests : the earth-priest (*bhum* ⁸⁶ - *gaita* or *perma*) and the clan priest (*pen-waddai*). The *bhum-gaita* is responsible for the sacrifices offered on the occasion of village festivals, and for the veneration of the Village Mother. The *pen-waddai* serves the ancestors and the dead (pp. 33 ff.) ⁸⁷.

Besides the priests we again find the "*siraha* or *gunia*". ELWIN makes no distinction between the two among the Bisonhorn Maria. They are quite numerous. They can pass into ecstatic states ; they diagnose the "supernatural" causes of sickness and cure them. "The *Siraha* often has houses around his compound for in-patients, and a celebrated medicine-man may attract sick and anxious people from a wide area" (p. 35). By divination he establishes the cause of death. The tools of his trade include winnow, lamp and broom (p. 76).

As among the Bondo, black magic (witchcraft) is an affair of the men (there are some female witches ; cf. p. 65 f.). In the Khupe valley (South Bastar) a course in black magic is held from June to December ; it is held in the jungle, under the supervision of a *guru*. One myth of the Bisonhorn Maria recounts how a certain man of the tribe was the first to acquire magic powers. *Nandraj Guru*, the primeval magician, was instructing seven deities in the magic arts. The Bisonhorn Maria who was digging roots in the jungle became aware of what was going on and listened in secretly to the instructions. He was discovered (at the initiation sacrifice), and the *guru* so planned things that the man unwittingly immolated his own son, in the form of a dove, and ate his liver. Thus the Maria learned magic, but with the death of the boy death came into the world (pp. 61 ff.).

⁸⁵ Cf. III, 1, 1, above.

⁸⁶ Concerning *bhum*, v. note 62, above. Cf. also GRIGSON, p. 195 f.

⁸⁷ The references are to ELWIN, Maria Murder.

The usual way to dispose of the dead is by cremation. However, if death occurs during pregnancy, etc., the body is buried in the ground "as the *siraha* may direct from time to time" (p. 23).

β) The Hill Maria

Concerning the Maria⁸⁸ generally, GRIGSON points out that the Hindu idea that they are "expert necromancers, and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits" is not based on fact, "although their general idea of sickness is that it is caused by magic and best cured by detection of the magician, or by white counter-magic". To determine the cause of death, the Hill Maria resort to a leaf ordeal, administered either by the clan priest (*waddai*) "or his medium assistant" (p. 225 f.). GRIGSON has this to say about the white magic of the Hill Maria (p. 227): "Of actual Hill Maria methods I obtained no notes; but certain *waddais* or *leskis* have a much greater reputation than others". The author is of the opinion, however, that their methods do not differ from those of the Bisonhorn Maria and the Muria. Among the Hill Maria, as among the Bisonhorn Maria, black magic seems to be practiced by the men (*cf.* p. 226 f.).

c) The Pardhan

FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, in an effort to correct certain misconceptions about the Pardhan, characterizes them thus: "They are the hereditary bards of the Gonds, and the songs and stories which they preserve by oral transmission are the most important depositories of Gond tradition" (The Raj Gonds, p. 47). With the collapse of Gond supremacy the Pardhan also deteriorated socially, though they made a later recovery. Comprising about 4 % of the entire tribe, they now number about 120,000. HIVALE⁸⁹ describes only the Pardhan of the Dindori-Tahsil and the Mandla Districts⁹⁰.

So far as can be determined, there is no distinction between priests and magicians among these two groups of Pardhan (though *cf.* next page). The magicians are known as *panda* and *gunia*. There are six classes of *gunias*. HIVALE gives the *panda* (sic) as the fifth and the *barua* as the sixth of these. The *panda* is probably a modern Hindu figure, for "he is a man with a devotion to a particular god or goddess who lives in his house". The *barua* is "a person in whom, on certain occasions, the gods manifest themselves". The first four classes of *gunias* are simply medicine-men and magicians. The office of *gunia* is not hereditary; he has a *guru* (p. 106). The high degree of specialization among their magicians is doubtless accounted for by the nomadic life of the Pardhan.

⁸⁸ It was only after this study was completed that I had access to GRIGSON's work, The Maria Gonds of Bastar.

⁸⁹ HIVALE, The Pardhans.

⁹⁰ In the year 1931, there were some 12,000 Pardhan in Mandla as against 120,000 Gond; in Dindori there were 4000 Pardhan and 68,000 Gond (p. 3 f.). Gond and Pardhan have the same clans, the same mythology, the same religious customs and festivals; they also exchange magicians with each other (p. 107). Evidence of all this has not, however, made separate inquiries unnecessary. — His fiddle (*bana*) is to the Pardhan what the sacred books are to the Brahman and the plough to the Gond (p. 66).

The methods employed by the *gunia* are those with which we are already somewhat familiar : measuring a stalk ; measuring the left hand with the right in connection with a trance ; use of the winnow and stirring of millet (*kodon*) in it ; divining with eggs and with lamps having seven wicks. They also have a form of leaf divination, named after *Nanga-Baiga*, the primeval magician of the Baiga, which is regarded as the most ancient form of divination (pp. 106 ff.).

The Pardhan (and the Gond) are familiar with snake shamanism ; they have a school for candidates which lasts, so far as I can learn, for one year. The affair observed by HIVALE was probably an initiation of pupils. The *guru* was possessed by "*Nang* god" (the serpent god) and suffered "all the pains and faintings of a case of snake bite". He behaved "exactly like a cobra, wriggling his body and moving his head about...". Then followed all the outward signs of an agony, such as would result from a snake bite ; it was due to the proper recitation of the *mantras* by the pupils that the *barua* came back "to life". The Pardhan snake shamans are apparently addicted to alcohol (pp. 120 ff.).

At the great pig sacrifice of the Pardhan (*Laru kaj* ⁹¹), five young boys play the part of "*baruas*" (and five girls that of "*baruins*"). At the close of the festival the boys appear mounted on hobbyhorses ("they ran with the wind and defeated it"). A priest, known as *karmi*, officiates at this ceremony (pp. 133 ff.). HIVALE has nothing more to say about him.

Like the Bisonhorn Maria ⁹², the Pardhan have a fear of the dead on the one hand, yet conduct the soul of the deceased (on the tenth day after death) back to where it once lived. There is a festival of the dead, arranged by several families of a clan, at which *Bara Pen*, the clan god, chooses one of those present to be a *barua*. "He falls into a trance and throws himself about in the conventional manner" (pp. 178 ff.).

d) Earlier Accounts

Would the following account suggest that there was at one time a guild of women shamans ? —

From time to time a bizarre phenomenon may be observed among the Gond (and Ahir) women in Chhattisgarh. They act as if they were soldiers, snatch up all the weapons they can lay hands on, and march from village to village in a solid formation. In each village they kill a goat. The head of the animal is carried to the next village, where the women of the place join the marchers. During this time the women wear their hair unbound. They have the idea that they are setting up the kingdom of the women (RUSSELL, III, p. 117 f.).

⁹¹ HIVALE describes the *Laru-kaj* in rather minute detail (pp. 125 ff.). According to ELWIN, it is "probably the most ancient rite of all Baiga rituals". This question cannot, however, be answered decisively from the Baiga alone. Cf. ELWIN's description of the sacrifice in "The Baiga", pp. 403 ff. and in ELIADE, p. 407 (additional literature given there).

⁹² Cf. ELWIN, Maria Murder, pp. 22 and 13.

With reference to the unbound hair, which seems to be a characteristic of the shamans of northern India, the missionary CAIN recounts how a native assistant had persuaded some Koi Gond shamans to have their hair cut. The consequence was that they were no longer able to act as shamans after that (CAIN, p. 416).

The Gond have the custom of summoning (conducting) back the soul of a deceased person, on the fifth day after death. "Sometimes at the funeral ceremony one of the party is possessed by the spirit of the dead man, and a little white mark or a small caterpillar appears on his hand, and they say that this is the soul of the dead man come back" (RUSSELL, III, p. 94 f.).

Fear of witches seems to be very general within the tribe (*l. c.*, pp. 110 ff.).

4. The Maler

Our information about the Maler dates from the end of the 18th century (SHAW) and the beginning of the present one (BAINBRIDGE)⁹³.

According to SHAW, they formerly had a special priestly class. The priestly functions passed over, however, to the *demanos* "who were previously only diviners" (D., p. 270). The priests were called *naiya* or *laiya*, the same as among the Santal, the neighbors of the Maler.

The call came to a *demano* through inspired electors⁹⁴. Following his call, the candidate spent several days in the wilderness, where he was in intimate communication with *Bedo Gosain*, the sun god⁹⁵. He let his hair grow long; he was said to lose his power to prophesy if he had it cut. Before being admitted "to full orders" (thus there seem to have been different ranks), he had to demonstrate his supernatural powers "by the performance of some stupendous work beyond the strength of man". No further details are given. Nowadays, in order to prove the genuineness of the *demno*'s (*demano*'s) trance, his body is covered with the red ants which infest mango trees; their bite is "excruciating" (B., p. 73). It is noteworthy that at SHAW's time the *demano* was in the service of the high god.

The trademarks of the *demano* were a red silk thread to which cowrie shells were fastened, and a red turban. These two objects were presented to him by the village headman (*manjhi*). On the occasion of the buffalo sacrifice, which he performed in January, he had to drink some of the animal's blood. Some of the other members of the party also became possessed and were seized with a craving for blood (D., p. 270).

SHAW states that the corpse of a deceased *demano* was abandoned in the woods (D., p. 274). BAINBRIDGE, on the contrary, stresses the fact that the *demno* (sic) is buried. An exception is made only when he has no relations; "but anyone dying without relations is left in the jungle" (B., p. 65). The

⁹³ DALTON worked over the report of SHAW; quoted in the text as D. — BAINBRIDGE, *The Saorias*, is quoted as B. — Regarding the name of the tribe, its probable migration and its relation to the Oraon, cf. ORC, pp. 45 and 74; v. also RN., p. 43.

⁹⁴ This is how the priests were chosen among the Santal; cf. note 6, above.

⁹⁵ Cf. RN., p. 46. Nowadays the sun-god is regarded as a real divinity next to the Supreme Being (*ibid.*).

spirits of dead *demanos* are greatly feared (D., p. 274) ; they try to waylay pregnant women especially (B., p. 65).

The *demno* (according to BAINBRIDGE) venerates "a godling made of mud" in his home. He does not say what deity it is, but it is probably *Gurya*, "the godling of fits and hypnotism" (B., p. 67). At any rate, certain *demnos* have a special relation to the godling *Gurya* : "... a *Gurya Demno* will affirm that he gets his knowledge from a snake, on whose back he sits at night..." (B., p. 69). In one ceremony he carries "his bamboo staff" (*l. c.*) ; thus, we have what may be called a shaman staff. Drummers take part in the performances (B., pp. 67, 74 f.). The *demno* is greatly addicted to alcohol (B., pp. 63, 68, 73 f.). The frenzied craving for blood is more often manifested than among other tribes (*cf.* B., pp. 64, 68, 72 f., etc.). The ceremonies often end in veritable orgies, in which the *demno* also takes part (*cf.* B., pp. 74, 80).

At one affair two men dress up "as women with short skirts and are adorned with bells, bracelets, etc.". Here we may have a vestigial form of sex exchange, such as noted among the Gadaba (*cf.* I, 9, above).

Belief in *Gurya*, the aforementioned (shaman) spirit, gives rise to a curious sort of agitation during the first month of the year. Some girl or woman declares of a sudden that *Gurya* has come to the village. He takes possession of the girl ; proof of this is seen in the fact that she dances constantly. A fan is "essential" to her. Her behavior is contagious, and other girls likewise pass into trances and dance the same way. The general excitement lasts for an entire month. The girl who was possessed by *Gurya* reveals the secret goings-on within the village. There is no defence against her accusations, nor to her demands for the offering of sacrifices. If anyone betrays reluctance, she holds out the dire threat that she will dance atop their house, or even inside it.

When *Gurya* makes known through his medium that he is about to withdraw again from the village, the men construct a miniature house outside the village, while the girls continue with their dancing. A bamboo pole is stuck into the ground in front of the house, as also a notched post of *sal* wood. The dancing master, selected by the shamaness to assist her during the month, kills a white goat. "The 'chosen' woman sits and drinks the blood from the neck of the goat as in the case of the *Demno*". This seems to be the only instance of the crazed drinking of blood by a shamaness. *Gurya* will watch over the village from his miniature temple (B., p. 69 f.). It would appear that the *Gurya* shamaness does other things besides taking part in this curious affair. That seems to be the reason why there are several such shamanesses (*cf.* B., pp. 77 and 83).

Sacrifices of thanksgiving must be pledged and offered in a certain sequence after recovery from sickness, for "the chief godlings can only be worshipped and acquired in a regular order". The *demno* can prescribe such sacrifices only for well-to-do people. Sacral posts play an important part in such offerings⁹⁶. Typical of these rites is the sprinkling of the posts with

⁹⁶ One is reminded of the merit sacrifices of the Naga and other tribes ; *cf.* FÜRER-

sacrificial blood, the trance and drinking of blood by the *demno*, beating of drums, the presence of large numbers of people (some from distant parts), dances and general licentiousness (B., pp. 70 ff.).

To appease the "godling" who sends contagious diseases, it is essential for the *Demno* and the *Gurya* priestess to ride on a swing (B., p. 77) ⁹⁷.

On the occasion of the *Durga* festival (*Durga-puja*, in October), the Maler perform a snake dance. The scanty data given by BAINBRIDGE are nevertheless sufficient to make clear that we have here a shaman school with a snake cult. One is reminded of the snake shamanism of the Oraon as well as of the October begging tour of the Santal. The "*Guru* and his companions" catch a cobra, which they carry with them in a basket. Teacher and pupils visit the neighboring villages and even the settlements on the plains, and decked out in brilliant costumes they perform snake dances. The text of their song, reproduced by BAINBRIDGE, shows that the group engages in begging like the Santal. Following this tour, which lasts an entire month, the pupils are indoctrinated in "snake lore and incantations; and the necessary drugs are given to them by the *Guru*" (B., p. 81 f.). There is apparently a connexion between snake shamanism and the medicine-man system. I cannot say whether the *demno*, whose relation to the snake was mentioned earlier, is a product of this (shaman) school. In any case, during his struggle against a spirit of sickness he administers "jungle medicines" (B., p. 82); in this respect he resembles the Oraon *nag-mati* (cf. III, 1, c, above).

BAINBRIDGE has only one observation about witchcraft among the Maler, *viz.*, that after a man dies there is an attempt to discover whether witchcraft had anything to do with his death (B., p. 62). Presumably witchcraft has not taken deep root in the tribe.

The *demno* need not be present at a Maler burial (B., p. 62). But a ceremony takes place a year after death, in which he represents the deceased (to his own advantage) while in a trance (B., p. 63 f.). The Maler recall the souls of their deceased five days after burial (or death; *l. c.*); but the ceremony is primarily for the appeasement of the deceased.

B. Attempt to Explain the Data

Preliminary Remark

For the presentation of the data in Part I the tribes were arranged according to their linguistic affinities. In such an arrangement, however, we have, partly, a merely external division. For, as we stated earlier (A, II, 1

HAIMENDORF, *Die nackten Nagas*, pp. 35 ff. It is true that the Maler rites are primarily a thanksgiving sacrifice after a person recovers from sickness, but the idea of "wealth and prosperity" is by no means lacking (cf. B., p. 72).

⁹⁷ The tendency to attribute epidemics to the arrival of many devils by train is something "modern". The elephant may also come accompanied by such devils. To drive these devils away, miniature models of railway trains and of elephants are thrown away at some place designated by the *demno* or the *Gurya* shamaness (B. p. 83).

and note 62), the Bhuiya and the Baiga were most probably Munda peoples originally. But the sphere of Munda culture must at one time have extended to, or at least had a considerable influence upon still other tribes⁹⁸. I hope that a discussion of the data given in Part I will help to define the boundaries of those forms of the magic-religious complex which the Munda and Dravidian peoples possessed originally⁹⁹. It will also help to show the extent of the religious influence exerted by the Aryans on both these ethnic groups, as well as that which these tribes exerted on the Aryans in turn. In fact, it is probable that in the beginning the Aryans were more the recipients than the contributors; and we may further assume that a constant interchange went on between them through the centuries. Consequently, when a phenomenon is characterized as Hindu, it often leaves the question of ultimate origin unanswered. We are on somewhat surer ground when certain phenomena found in a non-Aryan tribe can be shown with certainty or with reasonable probability to be neo-Hindu in origin.

I. The Priesthood of the Munda Peoples

The priesthood of the Munda peoples appears to be bound up very closely with their culture, or more accurately, with the nature of their economy. The priest is primarily the official representative and intermediary of the agricultural village community with respect to the vegetation deities¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ J. J. HUTTON and FÜRER-HAIMENDORF incline to the view that the Muria, the Hill Maria and the Bisonhorn Maria, even the Oraon and the Maler are ancient Munda peoples (*cf.* HUTTON, in "Census of India" 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 359; and FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *The Raj Gonds*, p. 3 f.). Concerning the Baiga, *cf.* ELWIN, *Baiga*, p. 4.

⁹⁹ I have already made an ethnological study of the high god and the other deities of most of the tribes we have been discussing, in the oft-quoted article „Hauptgöttheiten...“ --- When I concluded the present paper (early in 1952), I wrote in this footnote: "Much could be added as a result of the latest field investigations. As I shall have no opportunity in the near future to explore the requisite literature, I shall not be able to do this myself. I would be glad to have someone else bring the subject up to date." In the meantime S. FUCHS published his paper on the high-god-belief of the primitive tribes of northeastern India (*Der Hochgottglaube bei den Primitivstämmen des nordöstlichen Vorderindien*). I consider FUCHS' study a welcome criticism of my paper on the same subject, although some points would, it seems to me, require further discussions. FUCHS comes to the conclusion that the high-god-belief of the northeastern tribes, in the purity and the marked characteristics in which it presents itself today, is a borrowing from the theistic systems of Hinduism (p. 289).

¹⁰⁰ FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, speaking of the Austroasiatic peoples, says that "in Neolithic times [they] developed an advanced and complex culture characterized as it seems by the shouldered stone-celt, rice-cultivation on terraced and irrigated fields, the art of weaving, the keeping of cattle for purposes of slaughter and sacrifice, and the erection of megalithic monuments in the shape of menhirs, stone-circles and dolmens" (*The Reddis*, p. 332). To this summation of Munda culture we might add the following points concerning its religious aspect: the belief in a high god, whatever the origin of this belief and of the cult connected with it may be; the worship of vegetation deities in keeping with their (later) more highly developed agricultural economy; a close bond between the living and the dead, wherein fear of the dead was originally unknown, and

There is an obvious connection between this function and the fact that in most of the tribes the office is hereditary or mainly so ¹⁰¹. In addition to what we mentioned earlier (A, I, 2) about the Munda tribe in particular (*cf.* also note 43 about the Juang), there are a number of other facts which reveal this strictly organic connection between the priesthood and the socio-economic structure of the individual tribes, *e. g.* : FÜRER-HAIMENDORF's observation that the Bondo, when founding a new village, first erected the priest's house (Megalithic Ritual, p. 164) ; the celebration which the Hill-Bhuiya hold when a new village is founded under the direction of the priest (ROY, Hill-B., p. 251 f.) ; the close cooperation which has been shown to exist in many tribes between the village headman and the priest (see above).

It is true that certain elements of magic play a part in those cases where the priest is elected. But the type of divination employed, *viz.*, the use of the grain measure (Korku) or the winnow (Asur, Oraon), as well as the place where this is carried out, *viz.*, the sacred grove (Santal) or the shrine of the village god (Korku) are intrinsically associated with the priesthood (for the winnow see VI, 1, below). It is moreover significant that among the Asur the village headman conducts the winnow-divination. The fact that among the Korku the magician-shaman is in charge of this appears, on examination of the entire complex, to be a later development, particularly since in the absence of the shaman the oldest man takes his place. The Birhor are the only tribe whose priest is appointed by the shaman in a trance. But the Munda type of priesthood is itself foreign to this hunter tribe, and neo-Hindu features are clearly discernible in their shamanism. Finally, the shaman usually chooses the son of the deceased priest, so that in practice there exists even here a hereditary priesthood (leadership).

While it is true, therefore, that occasional elements of magic are found in the priesthood of some of these tribes, in most cases the priesthood is clearly set apart from the class of magicians and shamans. This is especially true of the central Munda peoples. As for the other Austroasiatic tribes, the situation is obscure particularly among the Korwa, and only among the Korku of Berar do priests and shamans seem not to be distinguished from

which bond is given outward expression in the megaliths. — Attention may also be drawn here to the ritual spring hunt of Northeastern and Middle India. It is an agricultural fertility rite, and the village priest plays an important role in it (*cf.* RAHMANN, The Ritual Spring Hunt, pp. 874 ff.). *Cf.* also above, p. 683, note 6, and p. 700.

In his article on the same subject MACDONALD (*cf.* the Bibliography, below) wonders (p. 103) what induced me to write the paper on the ritual spring hunt. The answer is that it was a by-product of the study I am presenting here. The fact that I had it written down in English partly accounted for its earlier publication. I am grateful to A. W. MACDONALD for having broadened and deepened the view of this phenomenon which he rightly considers "très important" (p. 101).

¹⁰¹ *Cf.* A : Munda (Ho, Bhumi) : I, 2 ; Kharia : I, 3 ; Korku : I, 5 ; Juang : note 43 ; Asur : I, 7 ; Savara : I, 8 (ELWIN) ; Bondo : I, 10 ; Bhuiya : II, 1. The same is true of the Dravidian-speaking Oraon (III, 1) and Muria Gond (III, 3, a). The hereditary character of the office has also been satisfactorily attested to for the Khond (*cf.* ROSSILLON, p. 656) and can be accepted as certain for still other tribes, *e. g.*, the Savara (*cf.* I, 8, above) and the Gadaba (*cf.* I, 9). It is hereditary also among the Santal (DATTA-M., p. 46).

each other. This distinction between priests and magician-shamans is also found generally among the Dravidian-language tribes. Among the Pardhan of Mandla and Dindori, traces of a priesthood remain apparently only in the person of the *karmi* (see A, III, 3, c, above), while among the Maler (cf. A, III, 4 above) it seems to have degenerated into magic in the not too distant past. The fact that the Muria Gond and Bisonhorn Gond have their own earth deity as well as a clan priesthood points to the merging of an agrarian culture with one of totemistic character.

In only one tribe, the Baiga, are we forced to acknowledge that there is no priesthood whatever, so far as the ethnographical data show. A study of the whole picture leads one to conclude that the Baiga, under the influence of south-Indian Hinduism, lost their priesthood, or that it degenerated into magic, as in the case of the Maler¹⁰². This is the more surprising when we consider that the Baiga formerly supplied the priests (and not the magicians only) for the non-Munda tribes of the nearby areas. The dependence of the priest upon the magician, as among the Muria (cf. A, III, 3, a, above), may be one of the stages through which the Baiga and the Maler once passed.

More than forty years ago CROOKE wrote: "... it is impossible to draw the line between Magic and Religion, and the practitioner, *Baiga*, *Pahan*, or *Ojha*, is at once priest and medicine-man" (Natives of Northern India, p. 247). The actual facts show, however, that on the whole this line can be drawn quite sharply, and the merging of priest and sorcerer is a more recent development and not the original form as CROOKE would have it ("At a later period, of course, these two streams of belief, originating from a common source, tend to flow apart", *l. c.*)¹⁰³.

So far as we can ascertain, neither the members of the hereditary priesthood nor those who are elected go through an initiation as do the magician-shamans. (cf. below, p. 730 f.). BODDING has proved that there is no initiation for the Santal priests (p. III)¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² For purposes of comparison we might point out that in Indonesia we likewise find: sometimes strict separation between priest and shaman, sometimes the combining of the two in one person, and finally the complete disappearance of shamanism in the priesthood (cf. KRUIJT, pp. 447 ff.). — The Naga tribes of Manipur distinguish rather clearly between the village priest and the magician. The head of the household acts as family priest (HODSON, p. 140).

¹⁰³ The distinct separation between priesthood and magic, as still found to some extent among the tribes which we are discussing, is evident, *e. g.*, in the fact that the Santal priest employs invocations only, never conjurations as does the magician (BODDING, p. IV), and the Munda priest never offers sacrifice "to appease an angry spirit" like the "witch-finder" (EM, XI, p. 3212).

¹⁰⁴ Here I should like to insert a number of additional points concerning the priesthood of the Munda peoples.

The village priest of the Munda (Ho, Bhumij) offers sacrifice not only to the spirits, but also to *Singbonga* (the sun high god) and to the ancestors (cf. EM, XI, p. 3214). It is probable, however, that originally the offering of sacrifices to the high god among the Munda peoples was in the main the duty of the father of the family (cf. RN., p. 59). (Among the Dravidian-speaking Oraon likewise, the priest [often a Munda] offers sacrifice to the high god *Dharmes*, but the veneration of *Dharmes* appears to be primarily

the office of the village elders, while the *pahan* [village priest] is chiefly concerned with the village deities and spirits [cf. ORC, pp. 22 ff.] — Cf. also DATTA-MAJUMDER, p. 104.

The EM (HOFFMANN) adduces good reasons to show that among the Munda (Ho, Bhumij) ancestor worship, as a purely family affair, is likewise more ancient than that part of their religion which is primarily the business of the *pahan*, i. e., the veneration of the vegetation deities (II, p. 383 f.). The same seems to hold true for the Kharia (EM, VIII, p. 2336), the Korwa of Sirguja (A, I, 4, above) and the Bondo (A, I, 10, above). In this connection it is not without significance that among the Austroasiatic Lamet, in northern Laos, ancestor worship and the rites performed in their honor by the father of the family are of greater importance than the status of the village priest and the worship of the village vegetation deities (IZIKOWITZ, p. 323). It should also be kept in mind, of course, that among the Lamet, as among most Munda peoples, the priesthood is hereditary, and that the priest probably exercised civil authority as he did with the Munda in former times; even today his influence is considerable (*l. c.*, p. 112 f.).

The EM believes that the presentday priesthood of the Munda tribe is closely linked with the Asur legend (cf. II, p. 384; XI, p. 3210; for the legend itself, v. I, pp. 240 ff.; also RN., p. 52 f. The Birhor are likewise familiar with it: ROY, *The Birhors*, p. 402 f.). In his work „Eisenschmiede...“, RUBEN makes a painstaking inquiry into the question whether there is any connection between the Asur and the vedic *Asura*; he arrives at no clear-cut conclusion.

According to the EM, the Asur legend was intended “to show the victory of the sun-cult over a religious system previously prevalent” [among the Munda]. HOFFMANN (with his collaborators) is inclined to ascribe the legend to Aryan missionaries “who, in very remote times, tried to convert the Aborigines to their religious views, and who presented their rites and doctrines in a form harmonizing as far as possible with the monotheism they found among them” (I, p. 243). But there is certainly more to the Munda priesthood than the mere changes contained in the Asur legend. This is evident even from the fact that it is found among all the linguistic kin of the Munda in India. In any case, as a result of the religious teachings set forth in the legend, the Munda (Ho and Bhumij) must have received an impetus that was eventually passed on to the Oraon as well. The latter also have the Asur legend (ORC, pp. 25 and 73 ff.; ROY, *The Oraons*, pp. 455 ff.; DEHON, pp. 128 ff.); but they doubtless borrowed it from the Munda.

Valuable information would be derived from a study of the priesthood among the other Austroasiatic tribes, bearing in mind, however, that they too have been exposed to a variety of influences. We would call attention to two tribes, briefly. The Khasi have a clearly defined priesthood, but the worship of ancestors falls to the head of the family — or clan — (GURDON, p. 120), as was formerly the case with the Munda and still is true of the Lamet. Even among the Palaung of the Shan States, who are now Buddhists, there survives a priesthood serving the spirit world (MILNE, p. 345). Moreover, is it a mere coincidence that, on the one hand, during a certain September festival the *Tla Pleng* (“Spirit Priest”) of the Palaung is not permitted to come in contact with the ground — that would be a catastrophe — (*l. c.*, p. 347), and that, on the other, during a festival for the dead held in February-March, the Munda *pahan* is borne from the place of sacrifice to the village, and in many villages even from house to house, on a man’s hip (EM, II, p. 388 ff.)? The Bhuiya of Bonai (ROY, *Hill B.*, p. 234), the Kharia (EM, VIII, p. 2337) and the Asur (RUBEN, *Eisenschmiede*, p. 56) are also familiar with this custom. RUBEN wonders (*l. c.*) whether it was original with the Indian aborigines and thence passed over into Hindu mythology. In any case, the parallels found among the Austroasiatic tribes outside India argue for the great age of the Munda priesthood. So that, even though Aryan influences may have invested the priesthood of the Munda, and probably of several Indian tribes linguistically related to them, with added importance, it must at the same time be taken into account that the Aryans may have adopted features of the Munda priesthood and in their own way systematized, perhaps even exaggerated these features. If even the village organization of the Munda peoples alleg-

II. The Various Types of Magician-Shamans

1. The anti-witch shaman ¹⁰⁵

Following a different line of argument, KOPPERS arrived at the conclusion that the witchcraft of the Bhil, Baiga and Santal, being an outgrowth of the Tantristic-Śaktic complex of West Assam and Bengal, is a phenomenon of relatively recent origin (*cf.* Probleme, pp. 771 ff.). We are led to the same conclusion by the fact that the anti-witch shamans, namely, the Santal *jan*, the Munda (Ho, Bhumij) *sokha* (and *marang deora*), and the Oraon *sokha* or *bhagat* are the most recent of the shamans, and are in fact essentially Hindu in character, perhaps altogether so. No special proof is required to show that we are dealing with the same type in all three tribes. We need only recall what we stated earlier, that in each instance recourse is had, at least by preference, to a shaman who lives some distance away. The burning of incense (Santal, Munda, Oraon), blowing on a conch-horn (Santal, Munda), spirit bells (Santal), fans of peacock feathers and oil lamps (Munda), staring at fans (Munda) or into the fire (Oraon) to induce trances — all these things were originally foreign to the magic (shamanism) of the Munda peoples. It is significant, on the other hand, that these shamans are without the winnowing fan (see below, pp. 731 ff.).

The relatively recent origin of witchcraft and of the measures taken to counteract it can be proved in also another way. The Korwa seem to be entirely free of it (A, I, 4, above) and the Birhor show only faint evidences of it (A, I, 14) ; now, the EM points out that these two tribes still live somewhat isolated (I, p. 242 ; though see II, p. 428). In the case of the Asur one gets the impression that it is not part of their original beliefs (A, I, 7). It must, likewise, have played an insignificant role for the Juang until rather recently (A, I, 6). The Bondo have no knowledge of it ; for them black magic is men's business (A, I, 10) ; may we assume that in their black magic we have some faint trace of the witchcraft movement ? It is much the same with the Hill Maria (A, III, 3, *b*, β) and the Bisonhorn Maria, though witches do exist among the latter (A, III, 3, *b*, α). Despite S. N. ROY's mention of witches among the Savara (A, I, 8), they do not seem to play an important role in the tribe, an assumption which is now fully substantiated by ELWIN (Religion, p. 242). The same seems to hold for the Maler so far as we can judge (A, III, 4) and even more for the Gadaba (*cf.* A, I, 9). Thus it was principally the central Munda peoples and the neighboring Oraon that fell victim to this pernicious practice. It is probable that their geographical location made them peculiarly vulnerable to the influx from West Assam. If we are correct in our view that the Maler, who dwell in close proximity to the Santal, remained far less

edly impressed the Aryans (*cf.* note 63, above), then one may well assume that the latter were not immune to religious impressions as well.

¹⁰⁵ I have not found this term anywhere in ethnological literature. It may perhaps prove acceptable.

affected by witchcraft, the reason may be that they settled in the region they now occupy only after the tide had flowed by (*cf.* note 93, above), or that their female shamanism served as a resistant force. Indeed, this latter possibility raises the question to what extent (female) witches and (white) shamans¹⁰⁶ can coexist in the same tribe. This point seems to merit closer study.

The witchcraft still widely practiced by the Baiga (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 370) and that which at least at one time was quite prevalent among the Gond (RUSSELL, III, p. 110) were probably two currents of the same stream mentioned above. Witches are relatively rare (at the present time?) among the Bhil, and as a consequence witch-fighters (*kazaliyos*) are rare, too (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 292). The fact that a *kazaliyo*'s practice extends over an entire district (*l. c.*) might be a parallel to the fact that people come from great distances to consult the Santal, Munda and Oraon witch detectors¹⁰⁷.

2. The medicine-man shaman

After thus briefly attempting to indicate the religious-historical position of the witch detector (anti-witch shaman), it should be easier to describe briefly the other types before passing on to the discussion of particular points.

a) The Kolarian type

BODDING (p. 43) compares the Santal *ojhas* and *jans* in the following words: "... the first ones [are] professionals in combating disease, the last ones in finding out witches". CARDON makes a similar distinction between the *mati* and the *sokha* of the Kharia (EM, VIII, p. 2336). The little *deora* and the winnowing-fan *deora* of the Munda (Ho and Bhumij) and the *devair* of the Asur correspond generally with the Santal *ojha* and the Kharia *mati*¹⁰⁸. We might call the magic and shamanism of these central Munda peoples the Kolarian type. As seen from Part I of this study, the healing of the sick, while not the sole function of these men, is certainly their most important one. The question whether at first there were only medicine-man magicians in these tribes, or shamans as well, cannot be answered without discussing the problem of the winnow, which seems to be their only real shamanistic

¹⁰⁶ The Maler *gurya* medium should not be considered a black shamaness, despite the agitation she stirs up (*cf.* above, p. 714).

¹⁰⁷ KOPPERS shows (*l. c.*) that the Bhil exactly like the Santal, Munda and Oraon, distinguish between the medicine-man magician (healer of the sick), whom the Bhil call the *barwo* (*cf.* *barua*), and the witch detector (anti-witch shaman). Notice, with reference to note 628 of KOPPERS (*l. c.*), that the "witch-finder" of the Munda is not simply the *deora*, but the *marang deora*, and especially the *sokha* (*cf.* A, I, 2, above).

For further clarification of the picture one must study the entire Indian witch complex. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that the *barwa* of the Balahi also practices black magic ("witchcraft"; FUCHS, p. 279 f.). Apparently no (female) witches exist among them. Among the Kwar in Chhattisgarh each village has its witch (*tonhi*); she is "nearly always some unpopular old woman" (RUSSELL, III, p. 400). The Dhanwar in Bilaspur have a wizard or witch in addition to the *baiga* ("the village priest or medicine-man"). But witchcraft is not a very common occurrence there (*l. c.*, p. 498).

¹⁰⁸ Regarding a similar distinction for the Bhil, *v.* note 107.

device. It is true that numerous Hindu features have found their way into this group as shown, *e. g.*, by the female tutelary deities of the Santal *ojhas* and the use of Hindi names for the spirits (BODDING, p. 10), but an evaluation of the over-all picture makes it rather probable that we have among the Munda peoples a quite easily recognizable and simple form of the magic-shamanistic complex.

b) The Hindu type

Even the anti-witch shaman (witch detector), which we described earlier, is of Hindu origin. To distinguish him from the Hindu medicine-man type, we might regard him as a higher form, by which we mean to say that in him the Dravidian background is no longer so clearly discernible¹⁰⁹. The type with which we are here concerned is best exemplified in the Baiga *barua* and the Muria Gond *siraha*; thus it is found especially in Bastar. The chief distinguishing trait of this type is self-torture and the implements used for that purpose. The subsequent treatment of individual features (see VI, 3, below) will attempt to show that this type is largely rooted in the South Dravidian culture of India.

c) The mixed type

This type occurs in various degrees and shadings wherever the simpler forms of Kolarian magic have come into contact with the more complex Dravidian-Hindu forms. Still fairly close to the Kolarian type are the Oraon *ojha*, the shaman-magicians of the Korwa, Korku, Juang, and Bondo, the Baiga *gunia* and to some extent also the *gunia* of the Bhuiya and the Pardhan. The Dravidian element seems to predominate in the shamanism of the Gadaba. The Savara, on the other hand — although, like the Gadaba, they have no geographical contact with their linguistic kin on the Chota Nagpur Plateau — seem to have preserved much of the Kolarian type, and this in spite of the fact that shamanesses (*cf.* below, 4) are very numerous among them. ELWINS' description of their shamanism (*cf.* The Religion of an Indian Tribe) shows, however, that it is rather a complex phenomenon. The spirit marriage of their shamans and shamanesses is certainly not of Kolarian origin. Among the Khond and the Maler the Dravidian form seems to prevail. The mixed forms are especially well-defined among the Gond, owing to the wide dispersion of this tribe. The shamanism of the Birhor, who are still a primitive tribe for the most part, reveals modern Hindu influences with special clarity, owing to the prominent position it gives to *Śiva*.

3. The snake shaman

Among the Oraon, Pardhan and Maler, in addition to the above forms, we also find snake shamanism, in each case an independent and apparently well-organized institution. Significantly, these are tribes which (at present) all speak Dravidian; the Oraon and Maler are moreover closely related to each other (*cf.* note 93).

¹⁰⁹ The *panda* of the Baiga (A, II, 2) and the Pardhan (III, 3, c) doubtless belongs to this (higher) type also.

The shamanism of the Oraon *nag-matis*, with their snake worship, trident, whip and incense-burning, clearly points towards northwest India where all these things are likewise found (*cf.* VOGEL, p. 248 f. ; OLDHAM, p. 87). It is true that the whip of the Oraon snake shaman is a grass one while that of the Himalayan shaman is of iron ; but it is probably no mere coincidence that among the Korku, who live to the west of the Oraon, the shaman scourge (something foreign to the Munda peoples) is a rope studded with nails (*cf.* A, I, 5). To get a clear understanding of the entire complex, however, one must take a look at snake worship as practiced in other parts of India. With reference to this, EHRENFELS states (p. 96 f.) that "a thorough study of the relations that perhaps exist between the sacred groves and the serpent worship in the totemist area of India on the one hand, and the serpent-groves of the Nayars and generally the serpent worship of south-western and southern India on the other, would certainly bring forward many interesting points". The author further establishes (p. 115 f.) "significant similarities" between the serpent worship of the southwest and the worship of the serpent-goddess of Bengal, and also connects the serpent cult of the Kayashth Rajputs with the southwest (p. 148 ; *cf.* 158). According to him, this serpent-worship originated in pre-Aryan mother-right India. The serpent shamanism of the Oraon, Maler and Pardhan is probably a combination of the serpent worship of southern India and the north-Indian forms of shamanism. How the serpent shamanism of the northwest, which obviously has some relation to these three tribes, fits into this conjectural combination, we are not at the moment able to say. We might recall that the Maler *demno* has a special relation to the snake ; unfortunately, however, it is not clear whether he is a product of the snake-shaman school (A, III, 4). The shamaness of the Madiga, the great leather-working caste in Telugu (*cf.* THURSTON, VI, p. 292), carries with her as part of her equipment "a snake-headed bamboo stick" (ELMORE, p. 23). Does the bamboo staff of the Maler *demno* have any connection with this staff ?

Snake magic is also widespread among the Santal, but here it is easily recognized as a recent arrival. BODDING speaks (p. 113) of Hindu influence, but probably it goes back primarily to the worship of the Bengal serpent-goddess, which, according to HÉLÈNE ROWLANDS, is a « divinité de basse origine » (*cf.* EHRENFELS, p. 116). The October begging tour of the Santal shaman pupils may have been borrowed from the snake shamanism of the Maler. For the rest, one may say that the various forms of snake worship are on the whole foreign to the Munda peoples even at present (though, see note 115, below).

4. Shamanesses and shamanistic (?) ferments of women

Shamanesses and female magicians in the usual sense (we are not speaking of witches) are unknown among the central Munda peoples. The occurrence of a famous female *rau-uria* (shamaness ?) among the Juang (A, I, 6) must be explained as a latter-day phenomenon. It is only in the Gadaba and Savara tribes, who live farther towards the south of India among Dravidian stock,

that the female element is met with in shamanism and magic. Female shamanism is most conspicuously manifested among the (Dravidian-speaking) Maler. Their present geographical isolation leads one to believe that this form of shamanism dates back to rather early times. Since we still find among the Oraon (A, III, 1), and the Gond (A, III, 3, *d*) distinct parallels to the outbreaks of shamanistic hysteria, which recur among the Maler during the first month of the year (A, III, 4), there is ample reason to suppose that, prior to the development of higher Hindu forms, the magic-religious customs of these (and other ?) tribes included the following fairly general characteristics : an important role played by women ; copious shedding of blood ; states of religious exaltation.

Since the most heterogeneous elements occur in the Baiga magic complex, it is not surprising that shamanesses (*cf.* A, II, 2) are also included in it. However, they appear to be relatively few as compared with the number of shaman-magicians.

Instances suggestive of sex-exchange among shamans occur only among the Gadaba (A, I, 9) and less distinctly among the Maler (A, III, 4) and Savara (A, I, 8). Reference has already been made to a parallel phenomenon in East Bengal (note 51). In the districts of South-Arcot, Coimbatore and Salem in southeastern India, all of which are in a decidedly Dravidian area, the men dress up as women on the occasion of an April festival in honor of the goddess *Kuttandavar*. *Kuttandavar* is the special patron of actors and dancers, who are known as *kuttadi* (WHITEHEAD, p. 26 f.). It is not improbable that this is a survival of the shamanistic change of sex. Scanty though our data be, it seems safe to say that this feature is of south-Indian (Dravidian) origin.

5. Boy mediums

The employment of boy-mediums by the Munda is presumably in imitation of the village priest's use of boy-assistants in this tribe. That the latter practice is the older of the two may be inferred from the fact that among the Bondo, who are linguistically related to the Munda but separated from them geographically, the village priest likewise avails himself of the services of boys (see A, I, 10 for both tribes). It is not improbable that the boy-priesthood of the Muria Gond (*cf.* ELWIN, Muria, p. 207) grew out of what was originally mere assistance. The fact that in all three tribes the boys must live "virginally" would also indicate an historical connection. The Oraon also have a boy-priesthood (*cf.* ORC, pp. 216 ff.).

III. The Horse in North-Indian Shamanism

Mention was made of the "horse" when speaking of the shamanism of the Muria (A, III, 3, *a*) and the Pardhan (A, III, 3, *c*). ELWIN has assembled a mass of data, both from India and from elsewhere, about the horse in the shamanistic ritual (Muria, pp. 207 ff.), and ELIADE (pp. 405 ff.) has made use of this material in his own investigation.

Generally speaking, the horse plays but a minor role in the magic (and worship of the dead) of the pre-Aryan tribes of north and middle India. In the mythology of four of the Munda tribes, *viz.*, the Santal, Munda, Birhor, and Korku, this role is not exactly a commendable one for, as the creator's adversary, it destroys the body of the first man (*cf.* RN., p. 58, note 125). Even nowadays the Baiga regard horseback riding as dangerous and punishable, and almost as a violation of a tribal ban, or as an outrage against (Mother) Earth (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 375 f.). The horse is held in little esteem, or rather, is detested, by the Savara (ELWIN, Religion, pp. 59, 522, 526 f.). ELWIN is probably right in saying that it is disliked because it is a "symbol of the civilization of the plains, the vehicle of the taxgatherers" (*op. cit.*, p. 526 f.). But the dislike may go back to remote times. The Gadaba punish horseback riding with expulsion from the caste (tribe ?) (RUSSELL, III, p. 13 ; THURSTON II, p. 242 ; *cf.* ELWIN, Religion, p. 510 ; III, p. 13). THURSTON's reasoning, *viz.*, that they have an aversion to the horse because as palanquin-bearers they regard it as their rival (*cf. l. c.*), is certainly a secondary consideration. The authors of the EM (II, p. 412) say that "... the horse... never seems to have played any part at all in the Munda's life". According to KOPPERS (Munda und Sidoli, p. 550), the horse cannot be said to be in any sense proper to the Korku and the Bhil. But these very tribes depict mounted horsemen on the monuments of their dead. KOPPERS, with good reason, suggests a connection with *Aśvamedha* (*l. c.*, p. 584 f. ; *cf.* Monuments, pp. 117 ff.) and this sounds especially likely for the Korku since the majority of them are now almost indistinguishable from the Hindus (RUSSELL, III, p. 555).

When the Santal speak of horse-faced creatures who live in the women's realm of *Kamru* and devour humans, this, like the entire *Kamru* complex, is something essentially foreign to their culture. Nor is it difficult to identify its source. According to SEN (pp. 175), there is a goddess called *Basali* and "represented with a horse's head, and sometimes as a horse altogether made of wood... worshipped extensively in Orissa by the Keots and allied tribes, and popularly known as *Ghora-muha*¹¹⁰ *Basali*".

These references do not, of course, provide us with a definitive answer to the question. In a Muria funeral chant mention is made of a horse with eight legs (ELWIN, Muria, p. 150). According to ELIADE, the eight-legged horse is « typiquement chamanique ». It plays a part in a Buryat myth and in German (and Japanese ?) myths and men's societies (ELIADE, pp. 407 ff.).

IV. The Mythological Background of Anti-Witch Shamanism

As we mentioned earlier, W. KOPPERS has described the points of agreement that are to be found in the mythological background of (a part of) the magic of the Bhil, Santal, Baiga (and Munda) ; this magic is an outgrowth of the *Kamarupa* complex. Meanwhile, ELWIN has published a number of

¹¹⁰ BODDING renders the name as *ghormuha*, which UHLENBECK derives from Skr. *ghojamukha* = one who has a horse-face ; *cf.* KOPPERS, Probleme, p. 767, note 19. *Cf.* furthermore DATTA-MAJUMDER, p. 48 f.

myths, previously unknown, that belong to this same complex ¹¹¹. Hence it is now possible to carry our attempt at an explanation a step farther. Besides the Baiga ¹¹² and Santal ¹¹³ myths already made use of by KOPPERS, ELWIN (pp. 443 ff.) offers a few additional ones of the Santal, and one each of the Munda, the Dewar of Kodua (Raipur), the Dhanwar of Baira (Matin-Zemin-dari), the Gond of Banjar (Mandla), the Gond of Nodora (Chindwara), and the Rajnengi Pardhan of Patangarh (Mandla). The last-named treats of Gond magicians.

At the beginning of this collection ELWIN has a Hindu story, from which, he says, the Baiga myth is borrowed ; it is the "classic Hindu legend of *Dhanwantari*" (p. 443). The basic idea of this Hindu myth is plain, viz., that the magic power of *Dhanwantari*, physician of the gods, instead of being bequeathed to his sons, passes over to *Lona*, the witch of the tribe of Chamar ¹¹⁴, due to the intervention of the snake-king *Takshaka* (cf. VOGEL, pp. 203 ff.) ¹¹⁵.

This motif recurs in the Baiga version, where the magic power of *Nanga Baiga*, the primeval magician, instead of being passed on to his sons and pupils — who, in accordance with the command he gave them before he died, boiled his flesh in twelve kettles for a period of twelve years ^{115a} — is transmitted to three witches, of the Gond, Chamar and Dhobi ¹¹⁶ tribes respectively. After *Nanga's* sons and pupils, acting on the advice of the jealous high god *Bhagvan*, threw the kettles into the river, the witches who were bathing there fished the floating vessels out and ate the contents. Only one of *Nanga's* brothers (or his youngest son) "got a whiff of the steam or . . . one scrap of the flesh, and he became the first *guniar*" (p. 444).

¹¹¹ Myths of Middle India. The page references in the present chapter are to this work.

¹¹² KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 770 ; cf. ELWIN, *The Baiga*, pp. 340 ff.

¹¹³ KOPPERS, *l. c.*, pp. 766 ff. ; cf. BODDING, pp. 123 ff.

¹¹⁴ The Chamar are "the caste of tanners and menial labourers of northern India" (RUSSELL, II, p. 403).

¹¹⁵ It is worth noting how the snake figures in these myths. In the Baiga myth the envious *Bhagavan* sends a snake to kill the primeval magician *Nanga Baiga* with its bite. A snake drinks the black blood (black magic) that flows from his left side (Myths, p. 443). — *Kamru*, the great magician of the Santal, likewise comes to his death by snake bite (BODDING, p. 124 ; ELWIN, *Myths*, p. 444). The legend also tells of a somewhat vague connection between *Kamru* and the Hindu serpent goddess *Manasa* (Santali *Monsa*). They were born at the same time ; "*Kamru*, however, is a little younger" (BODDING, p. 124). The question arises whether these things have any connection with the serpent-shamanism discussed earlier (B, II, 3).

^{115a} Concerning the boiling of the magician's flesh a somewhat similar motif belonging to Siberian shamanism may be mentioned. A shaman of the Avam-Samoyeds reported of his training period that he was seized in the underworld by a giant blacksmith who tore his body into small pieces and boiled it for three years in a caldron until all the muscles loosened from the bones (cf. NACHTIGALL, p. 190). A shaman-apprentice of the Buryats is believed to be boiled by the shaman ancestors in heaven. FRIEDRICH who mentions this (p. 209) adds that in "ancient times" all shamans were boiled that they might acquire the shamanistic knowledge.

¹¹⁶ Probably meant are the Dhobi, "the professional caste of washermen" (RUSSELL, II, p. 518), and not the small tribe of the Dhoba in Mandla (cf. RUSSELL, II, p. 515).

In the Santal version of the story, the nephews of *Kamru*, the primeval magician, were supposed to carry out the command of the dying *Kamru* and eat the two pieces of flesh which they discovered in the pyre after their uncle's corpse was cremated, but they shrank from doing so and threw the fragments into the river instead. *Kamru's* wife, who had brought about her husband's death by telling a lie, had been watching her nephews; she took the pieces of flesh for herself, consumed them, and thus became possessed of *Kamru's* magic power.

In the Dhanwar version, it is the Seven Agaria¹¹⁷ Sisters who, while bathing, fished out the kettle containing the flesh of the master *guru* and ate the contents. The pupils, who had intended to execute the command of their dying teacher, threw the kettle away after a *sadhu* explained to them that they would be committing a grave sin in eating the flesh of their teacher. The Seven Sisters learned the art of black magic (*pap-vidya*, see immediately below) in a dream on the following night. The myth is 'Hinduized' by the appearance of the *sadhu* and the explanation he gives.

We have an even more clear-cut instance of this in the version of the Rajnengi Pardhan. Twelve Gond Brothers learn *gun* ("magic spells", see note 32 above) from *Mahadeo*. After his death and upon his orders, they boil his flesh in twelve kettles near a lake. *Naita Dhobnin*, *Mahadeo's* adversary, whose son he had slain (sacrificed), feared that no one in the whole world would die if the Twelve Brothers took possession of *Mahadeo's* powers¹¹⁸. She disguises herself as an old Brahmaness and shows them what a great crime they are about to commit. The brothers toss the kettles into the lake, but the Brahmaness turns into a crocodile and gulps down the flesh of *Mahadeo*. "Thus she became the great witch and that is why witches devour men"¹¹⁹. The Twelve Brothers inhaled only the steam of the boiling pots "and so they are good magicians. They do not devour men and they are less powerful than the witches" (p. 452).

These myths all show that women seize (by fraud), or at any rate come into possession of, what by right should belong to men, or what had previously belonged to them. The Baiga version and the one of the Twelve Brothers leave men with a share of the primeval sorcerer's magic power.

Another Santal version, which is evidently of more recent date (since no parallels exist among other tribes), emphasizes this last point particularly. *Marang Buru*¹²⁰ (whom we might place on the same footing with *Nanga Baiga* of the Bhil) orders the men to come and learn magic from him. They tell their

¹¹⁷ According to the myth, the Agaria Sisters belong to different tribes; cf. Myths, p. 449. — The Agaria are "a small Dravidian caste, who are an offshoot of the Gond tribe" (RUSSELL, II, p. 3). I have not been able to examine ELWIN's monograph "The Agaria", Bombay 1942.

¹¹⁸ The idea that magic power invests one with immortality recurs in two other myths. A man is saved from imminent death by means of the red blood that flows from the right side of the dying *Nanga Baiga* (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 340). The Dhanwar myth likewise speaks of a dying man being saved by magic power (Myths, p. 448).

¹¹⁹ Among the Santal also, the witches "devour" men (cf. BODDING, p. 41).

¹²⁰ The vegetation deity of the Santal (and other Munda tribes); cf. note 26, above.

wives to give their clothes a good washing because *Marang Buru* wants them to appear before him in clean apparel. But the more the women folk talked about *Marang Buru's* scheme the less they liked it. So they got their husbands drunk, put on their husbands' clothes, stuck goats' beards on their faces and betook themselves to *Marang Buru*. This is how the latter came unsuspectingly to teach the women "all the incantations of witchcraft". When the men finally arrived at the scene only the gleanings were left for them. *Marang Buru* "taught them the art of the *Ojha* and, in order that they might have the advantage of their wives in one respect, he also taught them the craft of the *Jan* and with that they had to be content" (p. 445).

The greater share of magic power that fell to the witches is likewise the theme of the Dewar version. *Kawa Guru*, to whose magic power another *guru* and his wife owe the birth of a boy and a girl, while blessing the two children at the time they receive their names, explains that the boy will be a great *gunia* and will possess twelve cartloads of *vidya* (magic power), while the girl will be a witch with thirteen cartloads of *pap-vidya* (black magic) ¹²¹ (p. 446 f.). In the Dhanwar version the two magicians, who are brothers, also possess twelve cartloads of *vidya* and thirteen of *pap-vidya*. They go about from village to village accompanied by their pupils ¹²², to communicate their magic power, "a little of the knowledge of evil to the women and of the knowledge of good to the men". By bewitching the pupils, the witches of one locality succeed in stealing the thirteen loads of *pap-vidya*. Talking sweetly to them, the *guru* (in the course of the narration only one is mentioned) is able to get back all but one, which the witches keep. The myth ends with the Seven Agaria Sisters coming into possession of all of the *pap-vidya* by eating the *guru's* flesh (pp. 447 ff.).

Now, it seems to me that the real significance of these myths is this, that they disclose the intrusion of a new form of magic, *viz.*, the Tantric-Śaktic complex, into the older and simpler forms. The male element predominated in these latter forms, among the non-Aryan tribes of northern India ¹²³, while the new movement is characterized by a strong emphasis on the female element. At any rate, this new form was unable to win out completely among the Munda peoples and their neighbors, organized as they are along patrilineal, totemistic lines ¹²⁴, certainly not in a way that would essentially alter their religious-social structure. The older forms, *i. e.*, the medicine-man system and even a simple type of shamanism remained, but were partly

¹²¹ "*Vidya* : the science of protection, white magic ; *Pap-Vidya* : the science of destruction, black magic" (Myths, p. 447, note 1). The Santal say : *bidia* ; cf. KOPPERS, Probleme, p. 770, = Skr. *vidyā*, "science" (*ib.*, note 26).

¹²² "This account of the *Guru* with their disciples recalls Puranic pictures of *rishis* with their trains of pious *brahmachari* students" (Myths, p. 447, note 2).

¹²³ This has no bearing on the question whether "mother right" once existed among the Munda tribes. It is not at all improbable, though it would have been quite long ago, of course (cf. RN., p. 95 f.). The EM points out such traces in the ancestor worship of the Munda (II, pp. 383 ff. ; IX, p. 2754).

¹²⁴ Cf. NIGGEMEYER, Totemismus in Vorderindien.

eclipsed by the fatal encroachments of witchcraft¹²⁵ and by the need of combating it with "suitable" countermeasures; the anti-witch shaman¹²⁶ is the only one who has these at his command. Assam and Bengal were earlier mentioned as the birthplace of this movement (B, II, 1). The EM speaks of "Bengal and adjoining parts" as the place of origin (II, p. 425). Moreover, the dismembering of the primeval magician belongs to the same thought-pattern as the dismembering of *Sita* (-*Durga*), the consort of *Śiva*, by *Vishnu*¹²⁷, which would also make Assam the locale of the legend — except that the male element has retained its dominance also in this respect among the north-Indian tribes. Summing up all that has been said here, we might perhaps state that the Santal *Kamru* is a "śakticized" *Marang Buru* and that *Baranda* of the Munda (Ho and Bhumij) is similarly an adaptation of the ancient *Marang Buru* to the new situation¹²⁸. To be sure, the same religious forms which in Assam and Bengal provided the fertile soil for Śaktism¹²⁹ are also to be found in Middle and South India (*cf.* KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 780). Consequently we must reckon with the possibility that they exerted a direct influence on some of the tribes under discussion here. This could have been the case with the Gadaba, Savara and Khond, and with respect to the pig sacrifice of Middle India (*cf.* the Pardhan, A, III, 3, c).

One of the effects of Śaktism is that it has to some extent infected the conceptions which these tribes have of the Supreme Being^{129a}. The Munda regard the primeval witch as the second wife of *Singbonga*. She bewitches *Singbongas'* own son, and in this extremity he is forced to call for help not only on two

¹²⁵ The EM says of the Munda (Ho and Bhumij): "It [witchcraft] has indeed led to the most hideous feature in their social life, the suspicious dread of witches, the cruel way of disposing of a supposed witch and the hardship inflicted on her whole family" (I, p. 250). Regarding the execution of a witch (before the Government stepped in) *v.* EM, X, p. 2921. — BODDING writes: "Witchcraft is a very real thing to the Santals" (p. 38). Concerning the fate of witches and their families, *v.* p. 43.

¹²⁶ "The only protection against witches and wizards is, according to the popular belief, to be found in the ministrations of *sokhas* and, partly, of *deôrâs*" (EM, X, p. 2920). — *Cf.* also note 107, above. Concerning the Santal, *cf.* B, II, 3, a, above (BODDING, p. 43).

¹²⁷ *Cf.* HEINE-GELDERN, *Kopfjagd*, p. 43 (acc. to GAIT, *A History of Assam*); *cf.* also KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 780. — The dismembering of the primeval magician and the subsequent appropriation of his magic power by his disciples are the only features contained in the myth of the Nodora Gond. The disciples cast the pieces of flesh into a lake, where they turn into fishes and are eaten by the disciples (*Myths*, p. 450). Nothing is said here about witches.

¹²⁸ One cannot, therefore, simply regard *Marang Buru* and *Baranda* as identical, as I was formerly inclined to do (*cf.* RN., p. 63 f.). Regarding *Baranda*, *cf.* EM, II, pp. 422 ff.; I, p. 250. *Marang Buru* = Great mountain, the vegetation deity of the Munda; *cf.* RN., *l. c.*

¹²⁹ The diffusion of Śaktism in its present form (and therefore also of the witchcraft to which it gave rise) has been dated at about the fifth century A. D.; *cf.* KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 773, following CROOKE; and HEINE-GELDERN, *Kopfjagd*, p. 42. In its root, however, this cult seems to go back to pre-Buddhist times (KOPPERS, *l. c.*).

^{129a} The problem of the origin of the high-god belief of the Munda peoples (*cf.* above p. 716, note 99) does not enter here, as it seems to me, because no doubt they already possessed this belief before the time in question. *Cf.* the Appendix, below, p. 755.

magicians but also on *Baranda*, in whom the new magic has become incarnate¹³⁰. According to the Juang, *Mahaprabhu*, the supreme god, is helpless in the face of the first witch (*cf.* A, I, 6, above); the Baiga even regard *Bhagavan* as jealous of *Nanga*, the primeval magician, and responsible for putting him to death. On the whole, however, the preeminence of the supreme god as such was not weakened by this¹³¹, except in the case of the Baiga.

V. The Call, Training, and Initiation of Shaman-Magicians

A "supernatural" election is required, as follows the facts given in A, in the case of the Savara (I, 8)¹³², Bondo (I, 10), Birhor (I, 11), and Baiga (II, 2). Especially for the Baiga, but for the Khond (II, 2) and Bondo as well, this supernatural call is required even though the office is inherited. Among the Oraon the call seems to be restricted to the *sokha* (III, 1, *b*). Is the hereditary character of the shaman's profession borrowed perhaps from the hereditary priesthood? A suitable psychic disposition is reported as a requirement among the Juang (I, 6), Birhor (I, 11), Oraon (III, 1), and Muria (III, 3, *a*). The Muria seem, however, to insist on this only in cases where the profession is not hereditary.

Shaman schools, or some systematic training for the candidate(s), are compulsory for the Santal *ojhas* (I, 1), the Munda witch detectors (I, 2)¹³³, the *guarkumbmaran* of the Savara (I, 8), for some of the Juang *rau-urias* (I, 6), the Asur *devairs* (I, 7), the Birhor *matís* (I, 11), the Baiga *gunia-dewars* (II, 2), the Oraon *ojhas* (III, 1, *a*) and *nag-matis* (III, 1, *c*), the Muria *sirahas* (III, 3, *a*), the Pardhan *gunias* and snake-shamans (III, 3, *c*), and the Bhil shamans (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 177). The apparent differences in rank of the Maler *demnos* (III, 4) naturally suppose some sort of instruction; nor can there be any question about the existence of schools for the Maler snake-shamans (III, 4).

Supposing the existence of shaman schools and systematic training, an initiation would in most cases follow as a matter of course. It has been expressly shown to exist for the Santal *ojhas* (I, 1), the Munda witch detectors (I, 2), the Baiga *gunia-dewars* (II, 2), the Oraon *ojhas* (III, 1, *a*), and the Bhil shamans (KOPPERS, *l. c.*). It can be deduced from known facts about the Korku (I, 5) and Maler (III, 4). The *marang deora* of the Munda, after a sacrifice of milk to *Mahadeo*, makes an incision with a razor on the thigh or arm of his disciple and marks him on the forehead with the blood thus obtained, meanwhile reciting an appropriate incantation. The ceremony is called *sīd* or

¹³⁰ ELWIN, Myths, p. 445 f.; EM, II, p. 431 f.; KOPPERS, Probleme, p. 791.

¹³¹ A variant of this myth also exists among the Kamar, a tribe in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces (DUBE, p. 157 f.). — About the high-god belief *cf.* also EM, IV, p. 1025; BODDING, p. 1; KOPPERS, Bhagwān.

¹³² The references in the text are to the chapters of A.

¹³³ There must also be some sort of training for the ordinary *deoras* of the Munda (*cf.* EM, IV, pp. 1024 ff.).

sīdi, from Sanskrit *siddhī*, success, preparation, complete knowledge, effect (EM, XIII, p. 3947).

It has been shown in Section A that the following have a personal tutelary spirit: the Santal *ojha* (I, 1), the Savara *kuranmaran* and *kuranboi* (I, 8), the Korwa *baiga* (I, 4), the Birhor *mati* (I, 14), the Bhuiya *raunria* (II, 1) the Baiga *gunia-dewar* (to be inferred from the data, *cf.* II, 2), the Oraon *ojha* (III, 1, *a*) and *sokha* (III, 1, *b*), the Khond *janni* (III, 2), and the *demno* as well as the shamaness (III, 4) of the Maler.

Since the reports on most of these tribes are incomplete and somewhat vague, it is safe to suppose that the features we have spoken of are in reality more numerous and unequivocal than can be shown from the data actually at hand. But the data already presented warrant for now the general statement that in the magic and shamanism of North and Middle India the following elements are to be found: shaman schools or at least some systematic training of the candidates; an initiation; a personal tutelary spirit; a call by a spirit or deity.

With respect to the Santal and Baiga initiation, attention should be called to a parallel with Hinduism. The Santal shaman candidate, as we recall, shares a morsel with the initiating teacher (I, 1), and in the case of the Baiga candidate, he sips the liquid which the teacher first put in his own mouth (II, 2). We find something similar in Hinduism: The water in which the *guru* dipped his toes is consumed as a grace-giving elixir; the foods of which he has partaken, the clothing which he has worn, all are considered to be endowed with healing and miraculous power (see GLASENAPP, p. 77). The Hindu *guru* assists the pupil, by his teaching, towards the second, spiritual birth (*l. c.*, p. 76), just as the shaman teacher of the Santal gives his pupil of "his very own" (I, 1).

Owing to the scarcity of the data, it is not yet possible to say in what relation these conceptions and practices stand toward each other. It is not out of the question that the Hindu teacher-pupil relationship is rooted in ancient, pre-Aryan, beliefs and practices, although it would seem more probable that in the aforementioned concrete cases the shamans of the Santal and Baiga simply adopted a Hindu custom. Perhaps, as we suggested earlier, the preliminary consecration of the Santal, in which use is made of the winnowing fan (A, I, 1), was at one time the initiation proper (*cf.* A, I, 1), especially since the Baiga of Diwali likewise use the winnow in this way (A, II, 2).

VI. Paraphernalia of the Shaman-Magicians

1. The question of the shaman's dress

Nothing is said about a special dress worn by the shamans of these tribes. The only case in which we find a not altogether improbable trace of it is with the Savara, where the shamans wear "the ordinary waist-cloth with a tail before and behind" (italics supplied) (THURTON, VI, p. 338). The bunches of brass and shells and the bean or seed strings worn by them (A, I, 8) may

likewise be mentioned. Here we might also recall the red turban and the red silk thread formerly worn by the Maler *demano* (A, III, 4).

2. The winnowing fan

The grain winnow plays an important part, both in the priesthood of several Munda peoples and of the Oraon¹³⁴, and in the shamanism of North and Middle India¹³⁵. The question at once arises: what is the connection between them?

After what we said earlier regarding the priesthood of the Munda peoples (*viz.*, that it principally serves the vegetation deities), the winnow may rightly be called its natural symbol — and the same may be said of the grain basket. — This connection was formerly brought out most strikingly in the case of the Munda, in that the ritual winnowing fan was kept all year long with the sacrificial knife at the base of the sacred *Sal* tree¹³⁶, which is regarded as the seat of the tribal ancestors. Nowadays the *pahan* keeps the winnow (as among the Kharia and Oraon also) and the sacrificial knife in his house, for since the introduction of Hinduism and Christianity it sometimes happens that they are stolen (EM, pp. 334 f. and 387).

So far as I can discover, the ritual winnow is not mentioned in the literature on the Santal as part of the priest's insignia. Does this lack perhaps have some connection with the fact that the Santal priesthood is not (now?) hereditary, and therefore does not have the same independence that it enjoys among most of the Munda peoples? Actually, according to MONFRINI (p. 35), the village headman is in charge of the festivals, and his office is usually hereditary. There is (still?) one connection, however, between the winnow and the priesthood: sacrificial rice is husked "for this purpose" (BODDING, p. 22) in a winnow.

On the other hand, the winnow is employed in the shamanistic ritual of the Santal, while the winnowing-fan magician of the Munda, so far as I can see, is not a shaman at all. The only clear case of the shamanistic use of the winnow among the Munda is that reported by DALTON (p. 14), though it

¹³⁴ Cf. A: Munda I, 2; Kharia I, 3; Korku I, 5 (grain measure); Asur, I, 7; Bhuiya, II, 1 (bamboo basket); Oraon, III, 1. In some Juang villages the village priest keeps "the sacred seed" in his house (ELWIN, Juang, p. 32); it may perhaps be assumed that he uses a winnow for this purpose, as is the case with the Kharia (cf. EM, VIII, p. 2336).

¹³⁵ Cf. A: Santal, I, 1; Munda, I, 2; Juang, I, 6; Asur, I, 7; Bondo, I, 10 (rice not mentioned); Birhor, I, 11; Baiga, II, 2; Oraon, III, 1; Muria Gond, III, 3, *a*; Bisonhorn Maria, III, 3, *b* (rice not mentioned); Pardhan, III, 3, *c* (millet is stirred in the winnow instead of rice).

The Maler shamans, for whom the South Indian forms are typical, have no knowledge of the winnowing sieve so far as we know. Moreover, there is no mention of it in the reports on the Gadaba and the Savara; perhaps they have lost it due to South Indian influences, and their geographical location would suggest that possibility. Nor does the winnowing sieve occur with snake shamanism. It also seems to be lacking among the Khond, though we know little about these people.

¹³⁶ There is a large flat stone under the tree (EM, II, p. 334).

is probably the (Hindu) anti-witch shaman that is meant here. This is the only use he makes of the winnow.

On the basis of these findings the only certain conclusion we can draw for the present is the somewhat general statement that the winnow is an ancient element in the culture of the Munda peoples, both as a priestly symbol and as a divining instrument, and is part of the shamanistic paraphernalia. So long as ethnographic research offers no proof to the contrary, it may be further assumed that the winnow (and the grain basket) is more ancient as a priestly symbol than as a part of the magic-shamanistic ritual. As regards the latter, the older form is perhaps that of the Munda winnowing-fan magician, and the purely shamanistic use of the winnow is the more recent ¹³⁷.

But it is the medicine-man shamans (*cf.* B, II, 2), that is, the shamans of the older cultural layer, that make use of the winnow. In this connection it is noteworthy that among the Bhil the sorcerer of lower rank uses the winnow, while the one of higher rank uses a small dish (KOPPERS, Bhil, pp. 234 and 176, note 424; JUNGBLUT, pp. 3, 121). There can be no question that the winnow method is the older of the two.

Now this is an important point: as the Siberian shamans put themselves into their trance and invoke — or capture — spirits by beating on the drum, the shamans of North and Middle India for their part try to achieve the same result by shaking rice in the winnow ¹³⁸. From this it is also easy to understand why the drum is almost completely lacking in the shamanism of this part of India; the winnow has almost exactly the same function. This brings us to the question, already discussed in ethnographic literature, whether the winnow should not be regarded as the forerunner of the shaman drum, particularly of the sieve-like drum ¹³⁹. If the answer is yes, the Indian findings are naturally of special importance.

¹³⁷ It might be noted here that at the *Khervaij* festival (*cf.* A, I, 7), the Asur place the young chickens sacrificed for their ancestors in a winnow, as a mark of honor (RUBEN, Eisenschmiede, p. 54). At the Munda ceremony of the recalling of the shadow-soul, the leaf cups containing the gifts for the deceased are covered with a winnow (ROY, Mundas, p. 464).

¹³⁸ *Cf.* note 135. — The winnow also has a mythological meaning for the Munda. When the (iron-smelting) Asur were unable to find an *ojha*, to ask him why their iron furnaces kept caving in, "they placed rice on a winnowing fan, and it led them to *Sing Bonga*, and they asked him what they should do" (DALTON, p. 187).

¹³⁹ On this point *cf.* KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 805 f. I have never read about the hourglass-drum or the skull-drum being used in the magic ritual of the tribes we are discussing, though according to KOPPERS it plays a role second only to the winnow in the magic of the primitive tribes of Middle India and far beyond (ELIADE refers to this; p. 377 f.). It may, of course, occur in exceptional cases, but it would in any case be a rare phenomenon and this is one of the arguments to show the comparatively weak influence exerted on these tribes by Śaktism, from which this drum derives (KOPPERS, *l. c.*, p. 806). The Bhil are familiar with the hourglass-drum as a magical device (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 180).

RADLOFF writes: "Die Schamanentrommel... besteht aus einem... mehr oder weniger oval gebogenen Holzreifen in der Form eines Siebrandes" (Aus Sibirien, II, p. 18). NIORADZE (p. 79) distinguishes between the oval and the round type. The oval type is found throughout the eastern tribes of Siberia, the round type among the western

The magic uses of the winnow, however, are not restricted to those already described. In Bombay, a newborn infant is placed in a winnow¹⁴⁰, and this winnow is used for the sacrifice to the birth-devil¹⁴¹ on the fifth following day. In North India, when a mother loses one baby, she drags the next one around with her in a sieve as though she cared nothing for it, in order to escape the "evil eye". At low-caste marriages, throughout all "Upper India", the brother of the bride showers the bridal couple with rice from a winnow. At the *Diwali* festival, bad luck is chased out of the house with a winnow and broom, which are thereupon thrown away¹⁴².

These customs are probably related in some way to the magic use of the winnow by the Munda peoples. Furthermore, when *Gauri*, the corn-goddess of North and Middle India, and one of the forms of *Śiva's* consort, is addressed by the latter as "the Beloved who is in the winnowing basket"¹⁴³, we have good reason, on the basis of the foregoing data, to think of a Munda origin, and particularly to consider *Gauri* herself as a pre-Aryan goddess¹⁴⁴.

If we are to arrive at a satisfactory solution to this problem, a study must be made of the magic use of the winnow (probably not very prevalent) in South India, and beyond the boundaries of India¹⁴⁵. As for South India, the shamanesses of the Madiga and the female soothsayers of the Korava make use of it (*cf.* THURSTON, III, pp. 438 ff.) ; the latter, however, are a migratory tribe scattered over the entire peninsula. The insignia of the Madiga shamaness, known as *matangi*, are "a basket or sieve, a snake-headed bamboo stick¹⁴⁶, a bunch of mango leaves, and a rope with cowry shells attached" (ELMORE, p. 23). The Korava women do not appear to be shamanesses. For their soothsaying they use "a winnowing fan and grains of rice". "They carry a basket, winnow, stick, and a wicker tray in which cowry shells are embedded in a mixture of cow-dung and turmeric". The basket and the cowry shells each represent a goddess. In practicing their art they invoke the village goddesses (THURSTON, III, p. 464 f.)¹⁴⁷. The geographical location of the

peoples. According to ELIADE (p. 161), the (Siberian) shaman drum is « en général, de forme ovale ». The oval type comes closest to resembling the winnowing fan.

¹⁴⁰ CROOKE makes the general statement: "In India the sieve is the first cradle of the baby" (Popular Religion, II, p. 187).

¹⁴¹ Spirits that endanger the life of the newborn child; CROOKE, *l. c.*, I, p. 264 f.

¹⁴² CROOKE, *l. c.*, II, p. 187 f.

¹⁴³ J. J. MEYER, Über d. altind. Korngöttin Harikālī, p. 112 f.

¹⁴⁴ In his book "The Hindu Religious Year", published in 1921, M. M. UNDERHILL sees in *Gauri* "the survival from pre-Aryan times of another deity" (acc. to MEYER, p. 103). MEYER sees no reason for the "pre-Aryan" part of it, but his view is no longer considered tenable. Regarding *Gauri*, *cf.* also KOPPERS, Probleme, p. 778. — In Bengal, at a celebration in honor of the goddess *Lakshmi*, *Śakti* of *Vishnu*, a basket filled with paddy is venerated (CROOKE, *l. c.*, II, p. 190).

¹⁴⁵ Shamanesses of the Meithei in Manipur also use a winnow (HODSON, p. 109 f.). — In Hungary, even to this day, quack healers use a sieve, generally regarded as a relic of a one-time shamanism; *cf.* S. SOLYMOSSY, „Die ungarische Urreligion“ (in Hungarian): v. the review of J. KOLLARITS in Zeitschrift f. Ethn., 1935, pp. 277-279.

¹⁴⁶ The Maler shaman also carries a bamboo stick: *cf.* A, III, 4.

¹⁴⁷ In vol. IV, opp. p. 465, THURSTON has an illustration of a Korava soothsayer

Madiga (Telugu) and the migratory life of the Korava ¹⁴⁸ suggest the probability of a borrowing from the (agricultural) tribes of North and Middle India. It was especially easy for the Korava to adopt the sieve and winnow since some of them are basket-weavers (THURSTON, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 453). There is, moreover, a striking similarity between the paraphernalia of the Madiga shamaness and that of the Korava soothsayer; their magic practices appear to be closely related to each other.

We might say in conclusion that the ritual use of the winnow is characteristic of the tribes of North and Middle India, and in particular is closely bound up with the religious and magic conceptions and practices of the Munda peoples, so that of all the present population of India, the Munda must be regarded as the most ancient carriers of winnow ritualism and winnow magic. This feature, like the village priesthood, follows naturally from the agrarian character of their culture.

3. The drum

Attention was called earlier to the fact that the shamans and magicians of North and Middle India make almost no use of the drum. The only real exception of which we are certain is the Savara shaman, who beats the "tom-tom" for hours at a time (*cf.* A, I, 8). Among the Bhil there is a close connection between the hour-glass drum and the magician; its main purpose is to set the rhythm when magicians and pupils move their heads to and fro (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 180). But even here it is not the Bhil magician himself who beats the drum. The disciples of the Santal shaman carry with them on their September wandering (*cf.* A, I, 1) a small kettle drum as well as a small wooden drum covered at both ends (BODDING, p. 70), but these objects seemingly represent nothing typical, being just two of a quite varied assortment. At the ceremony for the dead which was observed by SHERWILL, one participant beat the kettle drum (*cf.* A, I, 1). "Lots of drummers" (DEHON, p. 153) take part in the rediscovery of the stolen seed receptacles of the Oraon (A, III, 1). Drummers likewise cooperate in the shamanistic performances of the Maler (A, III, 4). More precise observations would do much to clarify this point. But it is safe to say from what we already know that in North and Middle India the drum chiefly serves as an accompaniment to dancing, especially to group dancing ¹⁴⁹.

practicing her art; the same illust. is in "Ethnographic Notes", Pl. XX. — The goddess (*Kolapuriamma*), represented by the basket, naturally reminds one of the goddess *Gauri* (*cf.* note 144); she may very well be regarded as one of the latter's pre-Hindu forms.

¹⁴⁸ It is not altogether unreasonable to inquire whether we do not have in "Korava" the Mundari root *har* for the word "man", which several Munda peoples use to distinguish themselves from others (*cf.* RN., p. 42, note 6). Thus the Korava might be an ancient Munda tribe. If there is some basis for this conjecture, it would be all the more significant that they act as quack healers to some extent (THURSTON, III, p. 439); for this could well be the survival of a former medicine-man system.

¹⁴⁹ Concerning drums and dancing, *cf. e. g.*, Munda: EM, IV, p. 1110 and Appendix to the letter "D", p. 2 f., also ROY, Mundas, pp. 478 and 483 f.; Santal: DALTON, p. 215; Juang: ELWIN, Notes on the J., p. 77 f.; Korwa: DALTON, p. 227 f.; Birhor: ROY,

We stressed the point earlier that the winnowing fan and the stirring of rice in the winnow is the counterpart in the shamanistic ritual to the Siberian shaman drum and the beating of the drum.

4. Instruments of self-torture

We are here speaking of the swing with the thorn-studded seat, the various types of whips, especially those made of iron or furnished with iron fragments, pins for piercing the cheeks, and shoes set with thorns. One or more of these are reported in use only by the Gadaba (A, I, 9), the Bōndo (A, I, 10), the Baiga (A, II, 2), and the Muria Gond (A, III, 3, *a*). The grass whips of the Oraon (A, III, 1, *c*) and the nail-studded ropes of the Korku (A, I, 5), as we stated earlier, must be regarded as having some connection with the snake shamanism of the Northwest (B, II, 3). The question naturally arises whether the whips and scourges of the Baiga and Muria Gonds are not also connected with it, for they do not seem to have any counterpart in South India. The swinging on the thorn-studded board, on the other hand, must belong to the same complex as hook-swinging¹⁵⁰. Cheek-piercing as a religious act is a common phenomenon in South India. Here again we are in the complex that borders on Śaktism, for in South India hook-swinging and cheek-piercing are practiced in connection with the worship of female deities¹⁵¹. Except for the tribes just mentioned, these things have remained quite foreign to the Munda peoples up to now, even to the Savara in the far south, and also to the Dravidians in the north.

5. The shaman ladder, magician's pole, etc. ; the cock

There was only one mention of the shaman ladder in Section A, namely, among the Baiga (A, II, 2). It deserves more than passing notice, however. KOPPERS saw a shaman ladder in the Gond village of Mohajhir (in the Maikal Mountains) in 1939¹⁵². CROOKE reports that it may be seen among the Dusadh

Birhors, pp. 507 and 503 ff. ; Bhuiya : ROY, Hill Bh., pp. 287 and 285 ff. ; Baiga : ELWIN, Baiga, pp. 431 ff. ; Muria : ELWIN, Muria, pp. 521 ff. ; Oraon : ROY, Oraons, p. 288 f., ROY writes : "... drum beating is an invariable accompaniment to the Oraon dances". Special types of drums are used for the individual dances. — KOPPERS describes the various drums used among the Bhil (Bhil, pp. 106 ff.). They are made according to certain definite prescriptions. — An accurate scientific study concerning the presentday diffusion and use of the drum in India would be a very useful service. Regarding Ancient India, *v.* the references given in ELIADE, p. 377, note 2.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. THURSTON, Ethnographic Notes, pp. 487 ff. — The swing of the Baiga shaman, pictured opp. p. 362 in ELWIN, seems to have no thorns on the seat, but he speaks of "a flat board studded with spikes" in connexion with the swing (p. 381). In "Bondo Highlanders", ELWIN shows a drawing of the Bondo shaman's swing (p. 112) ; the seat is made of thorn branches. The fact that it occurs among the (Munda) Bondo is explained by their southern location.

¹⁵¹ Cf. WHITEHEAD ; cheek-piercing : pp. 29, 78 ; hook-swinging : pp. 59, 82 f.

¹⁵² V. Geheimnisse des Dschungels, p. 116 f. Illustration in KOPPER's book „Die Bhil...", Pl. XIII, 1. ELIADE (p. 423, note 1) erroneously ascribes the ladder to the Bhil.

and the Djangar, "two menial tribes found in the Eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces". One of the "tribal priests" walks through a fire-ditch while "in a state of religious afflatus". This shows that the "tribal priest" is a shaman. In connection with this ceremony, however, they have "another function in which a ladder is made of wooden sword-blades, up which the priest is compelled to climb, resting the soles of his feet on the edges of the weapons. When he reaches the top he decapitates a white cock which is tied to the summit of the ladder" ¹⁵³.

Here, if I may be permitted a brief digression, I should like to describe certain phenomena that occur beyond India's eastern border.

The shamanistic ladder ceremony of the Dusadh and the Dhangar bears a very remarkable resemblance to that of the Lolo and the Lisu. In the latter case, the shaman first steps across three red-hot plowshares (*cf.* the fire-ditches of the two Indian tribes), then climbs up a knife-ladder of 36 rungs (judging from their shape, the wooden swords of the Indian tribes must at one time have been made of iron), and throws out a cock from the top ¹⁵⁴ (*cf.* the decapitation of the cock among the India tribes). Among the Katchin, who also have the knife-ladder ceremony as an initiation rite ¹⁵⁵, and who believe it originated with the primeval-shaman, we likewise find a connection with the cock, for the primeval shaman blew on an egg and there emerged a cock all ready for flight ¹⁵⁶.

The Ch'uang, a Tai tribe of Kwangsi Province, have the following ceremony: First a pole is erected, and

into each side of the pole... are stuck the handles of eighteen sharp knives. The shaman then, reciting magic formulas, advances with firm steps, takes a live cock and dashes the animal against the edges of the knives. Seeing that the animal has remained unhurt, the shaman begins to scale the pole and ascends. His hands are holding on to and his feet are treading the naked blades. Three time he climbs up and down, like upon a ladder, without the slightest injury to the flesh of his hands and feet ¹⁵⁷.

In South China the shaman candidate also climbs the knife-ladder (DE GROOT, VI, p. 1248 f.). There may be an indirect connection with the cock here also, for mythology speaks of the cosmic peach tree in whose branches the celestial cock roosts (*l. c.*, p. 965).

We shall now briefly touch on the question of the shaman ladder and the cock.

¹⁵³ The Popular Religion... Vol. I, p. 19 f.

¹⁵⁴ LIÉTARD, pp. 134 ff. — *Cf.* VANNICELLI, p. 154 f.; ELIADE, p. 389.

¹⁵⁵ Gazetteer, I, I, pp. 422 ff.; McMAHON, pp. 157 ff.; WEHRLI, p. 54; *cf.* ELIADE, p. 390.

¹⁵⁶ GILHODES (Anthropos 4, p. 714). He is mistaken (*l. c.*) in doubting the extra-mythological existence of the shaman ladder among the Katchin.

¹⁵⁷ LIU HSI-FAN, Ch. 21, Sect. 13, p. 192. The translation from the Chinese is the work of one of my former students in Peking. — The candidate climbs up and down over 108 knife-edges in all. This number is also regarded as an heroic feat for the South Chinese candidate (DE GROOT, p. 1249). The 36 rungs of the Lolo-Lisu ladder represent a third of this total. There is obviously a close historical connection, though *cf.* following note.

The shaman ladder belongs to the mythological complex of the three cosmic zones and the world-axle (cosmic axle) (ELIADE, pp. 235 ff.)¹⁵⁸. The ladder by which the shaman climbs to heaven is but one of the symbolic figures for the cosmic tree or the world-axle (ELIADE, p. 428). The same symbolism is contained in the shaman tree (ELIADE, pp. 244 ff. ; STERNBERG, p. 146 f.). Linguistic parallels even lead STERNBERG to look to India for the origin of the word which the Yakuts and the various Tungus tribes use for the shaman tree, viz., *turú*, *toró*, since *dru*, *taru* is the Sanskrit word for tree, and since in India every Buddha --- and we may suppose, even before his time, everyone inspired by the spirit --- had his own tree, just as every shaman in Siberia had the so-called *bodhi-taru*, the tree of wisdom, of knowledge, to which his power was joined (p. 148 f. --- STERNBERG's words have been paraphrased).

ELIADE describes (pp. 362 ff.) the ascension rites (rites d'ascension) of the brahmanic ritual. Because of the scantiness of the material it is difficult as yet to establish a connection between these rites and the occurrence of the shaman ladder in India. Moreover, although we must always be on the watch for instances of the most diverse and repeated, even continuous interchange between the individual ethnic groups of India, the other possibility must at the same time always be kept in mind, viz., that phenomena which of themselves had a common origin (cf. ELIADE, p. 390) existed and continue to exist as separate complexes in India. This could certainly be the case with the sacrificial post and the ladder of the brahmanic ritual on the one hand (cf. ELIADE, p. 362 f.), and the shaman ladder on the other, which is found among non-Aryan tribes and which we may credit to the northern Dravidians as the oldest conceivable carriers. CROOKE remarks (Northern Ind., p. 120) that the Dusadh are "Dravidians of almost full blood". It may be due to their low social status that they kept the (nowadays) seldom performed rite of the climbing of the shaman ladder. Its occurrence among the Baiga need not surprise us, as many forms of Indian magic are found in combination there.

The "heavenly ladder" of the Savara, on a branch of which a cock is perched (A, I, 8), is of special importance in this connection.

There can hardly be any question that the earth mound with the holy Basil shrub, which the Santal *ojha* and the Munda *marang deora* keep in their houses (A, I, 1 and 2) represent the cosmic tree¹⁵⁹. The present-day use of the Basil shrub is no proof that the symbolism as such is Hindu in character. The same symbolism of the world mountain or the shaman tree may likewise be seen in the lumps of clay that are found in combination with the iron snake and trident in the school of the Oraon snake shamans (A, III, 1, c),

¹⁵⁸ With regard to the Lolo, Chinese and Katchin, ELIADE insists that the symbolism of the shamanistic ascension is found in regions too numerous and too far apart for anyone to be able to assign it any precise historical "origin" (p. 390). The stress is undoubtedly on the "precise".

¹⁵⁹ Regarding the cosmic mountain and tree, cf. HARVA, pp. 57 ff. and 69 ff. ; for SW China, cf. RAHMANN, Remarks on the Sacrifice to Heaven, pp. 405 ff., and ROCK, pp. 9, 12 ff.

and in the cylindrical stone used at the preliminary consecration (pre-initiation ceremony) of the Santal shamans (A, I, 1), also in the rotating seat of the Munda (A, I, 2), and finally in the stone which the Oraon *sokha* sees in a night-vision as *Śiva's* likeness (A, III, 1, b).

This connection is seen even more clearly in the sacred banner which the Bhil carry on the last day of the fertility novena (see VII, 5, below). It consists of a bamboo pole, three or four meters in length, to the top of which is fixed a bow and arrow ready to let fly (the point of the arrow is aimed upward). The shaman pupils, who receive their initiation and practice the art of inducing trances during this festival, undergo the fire test and are beaten with hempen ropes and chains; it also frequently happens, so they say, that one of them, seized by *Bhowani-Mati*¹⁶⁰, attempts to climb up the pole on which the banner hangs. On the other hand the pole seems to symbolize *Kali-Durga* herself, for two pieces of red cloth, flying from near the top, represent her cloak (KOPPERS, Bhil, pp. 175 ff.). This banner also occurs among the Gond in the Maikal Mountains (*l. c.*, pp. 181 ff.), where KOPPERS saw the shaman ladder. The Balahi carry a bamboo post, representing *Dhaj-Mata*, the Earth Mother, through 365 villages for two weeks every year, to the accompaniment of dancing that goes on continuously day and night (FUCHS, Children of Hari, pp. 253 ff.).

In view of these facts there can be scarcely any doubt that the two posts which the Baiga shaman, called Mahatu, erected at his shrine (*cf.* A, II, 2)¹⁶¹, have some connection with the cosmic tree. ELWIN also relates (Baiga, p. 297) that the sacred pole which stood in front of a *dewar's* house was taken to the man's grave and laid upon it after his death.

Even if it lacks a shamanistic connotation we should say something here about the post which represents the village goddess of the Hill Bhuiya and is closely bound up with the welfare of the village (ROY, Hill B., p. 58 f.). One of the ordeals, to which a person is subjected in this tribe when suspected of witchcraft, consists in making her climb a twelve-rung ladder, from the top of which she must shake drops of milk or kernels of rice, as well as a mango twig, and make them fall into a circle at the bottom of the ladder. If she succeeds in this it is a proof of her innocence (*l. c.*, p. 89). Is this perhaps a variation of the shaman ladder?

The Siberian shaman drum is not only used as a method for inducing trances and aiding mental concentration, and capturing spirits, but it also serves as a means for the shaman's ecstatic journey, thereby fulfilling a function akin to that of the cosmic tree, etc. (ELIADE, pp. 159 ff.). So far as I can discover, none of the reports say or even suggest that the winnowing fan of the Indian magician-shaman has a function of this kind. Furthermore, it is only for the Santal that there is even a suggestion, a doubtful one at that, that a particular winnow is needed for shamanistic purposes. The old shaman, prior to the

¹⁶⁰ *Bhowani* (*Bhavani*) = witch, is "one of the most widely used names for *Kali-Durga*"; *cf.* KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 784.

¹⁶¹ Illustrated in ELWIN, *Baiga*, opp. p. 340; *cf.* note 65, above.

pre-initiation ceremony for the candidate, speaks in one of his (scarcely intelligible) formulas about the « winnowing fan made by a Mahle ¹⁶² of hill bamboo » (BODDING, p. 59) ¹⁶³.

The connection between the cock and the shaman ladder of the Dusadh and Dhangar (of the Lolo-Lisu, Ch'uang and South Chinese also) is another feature that points to Siberian shamanism. Among the Goldi, the Oroči, the Oroki and the Yakut, every shaman has special trees near his house, or he erects a tall pole, and attaches a huge figure of a bird to the top of it. Moreover, the Yakut shamans put the figure of an eagle atop their pole-ladder (STERNBERG, p. 146). The beheading of the rooster on the ladder by the Dusadh and Dhangar is probably a variation that has originated on Indian soil ¹⁶⁴.

This is perhaps where a certain Indo-Chinese myth-complex also belongs, one which is admittedly encountered in other parts of the world too (*cf.* note 199 below), but which merits particular study of its details in Indo-China for a possible connection with the shaman ladder and the cock. According to this myth there were a number of suns in the sky, and all men dwelt in the shade of a huge tree. The men cut down this tree but could not endure the heat that followed. They wanted to shoot some of the suns out of the sky, but the suns withdrew and a great darkness fell. It was the cock who finally succeeded in persuading the sun to shine again ¹⁶⁵. According to the Yakut, the eagle is the host and lord ("Wirt und Gebieter") of the sun. The sun rises in response to the eagle's cry six times repeated (STERNBERG, p. 128).

We might mention here the belief of the Khasi, that the cock is even the mediator between God and man (GURDON, p. 117). The fowl exercises this power of mediator among the Bwé, a branch of the Karen. It is addressed as the being who ascends the seven heavens to the top and descends the seven earths to the bottom ¹⁶⁶. Getting back to India, among the Oraon a white cock is the sacrificial victim par excellence for the high god *Dharmes* (*cf.* ORC, p. 21 f.). This is the more remarkable since, in the opinion of CROOKE, the Oraon are related to the Dhangar ¹⁶⁷ (Popular Religion, II, p. 150). Evidently a number of mythological and religious conceptions have come together here ¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶² The Mahle, who speak a Munda language, are a caste in Chota Nagpur and West Bengal; some of them are "workers in bamboo" (GRIERSON, IV, p. 74).

¹⁶³ On how the Siberian shaman drums are made, *cf.* EMSHEIMER, Schamanentrommel und Trommelbaum. *Cf.* also ELIADE, p. 160 f.

¹⁶⁴ The flinging away of the cock among the Lolo may perhaps symbolize the flight of the shaman. — According to HARVA, the eagle in the top of the cosmic tree is a very essential element in many legends. Thus, in the Indian legends and in those that have emigrated from India to central Asia, the mighty *Garuda*, who causes storms by his flight, makes his home in the world-tree (p. 84, *cf.* p. 680).

¹⁶⁵ For the Katchin: GILHODES, *Anthropos* 3, pp. 691 ff.; Miao: SAVINA, p. 244, *cf.* SCHOTTER, *Anthropos* 3, p. 423 f.; Ch'uan Miao: GRAHAM, p. 18 f.; Thai: BOURLET, p. 924 f. (a drake in place of a cock). In the Lolo version, three beings, *Jé*, *Sa* and *Za*, ascend to heaven to put an end to this situation (VIAL, p. 9 f.).

¹⁶⁶ McMAHON, p. 141. Do we perhaps have some Indian influence here?

¹⁶⁷ NIGGEMEYER states that the Dhangar reside in: The United Provinces, Central

6. The magic bow of the Savara shaman

KUIPER analyzes one myth of the Rigveda according to which a deity armed with bow and arrow employs this weapon to slay *Emusa*, the mythical boar, and seizes the dish of boiled milk-rice which the latter was guarding. KUIPER states that the words for bow and arrow (*drumbhūlī*-/ *dālbhūṣī*- and *bunda*) are proto-Mundari (pp. 3 ff. and 13 f.), and the name for the boar (*emusa*) may also be (pp. 14 ff.). He points out further that in this myth we have the first mention of rice in the vedic text (p. 17). The Rigveda makes *Indra* responsible for the death of the boar (p. 1), but KUIPER shows that the myth is Austroasiatic, or proto-Mundari.

These same words for bow and arrow are also used in connection with the magicians of the *Atharvaveda*. We find there the following passage : "with a *dārbhyūṣa*-¹⁶⁹ of bamboo, which has a bowstring made of black wool, (and) with black arrows (*bunda*-) that have bunches of wool tied to their points, (he does) what is directed in the *mantra* ..., i. e., while whispering the *mantra* he shoots after each stanza an arrow at the pustules" (p. 3).

This bow and the way it is used bears as striking similarity to that of the Savara shaman (A, I, 8). First of all, the bow used by the magicians of the *Atharvaveda* must have been a miniature one because it was used to shoot at pustules. Then, the lump of wax on the arrowhead of the Savara shaman corresponds to the bunch of wool on the tip of the *Atharvaveda* magician's arrow. The shooting at pustules while whispering the *mantras* has its parallel

Provinces, and Northwest Hyderabad (p. 607). CROOKE speaks of the "Eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces" (cf. above).

¹⁶⁸ In concluding this chapter I should like to call attention to the earlier existence of the shaman ladder on Formosa. In his article "The Aborigines of Northern Formosa", TAINTOR writes : "Another curious ceremony, which may be called the ladder of knives, which I did not witness, was thus described to me. Two stout poles are fixed firmly in the ground, projecting some ten or twelve feet. To these is fastened a ladder, formed by lashing their long knives, edge upwards, to two bamboos about thirty feet in length. The priest, or whoever it is who officiates, burns some paper, and dances around until he works himself into a great excitement. He then draws his knife and feigns to rip open his bowels, a delusion which he supports by cutting open a bladder filled with blood, and placed under his clothes. He then begins to ascend the ladder of knives, holding on by his hands to the upright bamboos, but still stepping on the knives. Under his feet are bound small pieces of leather, which afford a partial protection. The more daring and ambitious of the men then endeavor to emulate his dangerous feat" (p. 63).

Though TAINTOR did not see the ceremony himself, there can be no doubt about its existence. The Tayal are probably the tribe concerned. But the question arises whether they may not have adopted the ceremony from the South Chinese who settled in Formosa (from Fukien). The burning of paper by the shaman supports such a conjecture ; in South China the burning of paper also occurs in connection with ecstatic states (cf. DE GROOT, p. 1270). The ripping open of the bowels also occurs in Lamaism, as a shamanistic ceremony (cf. HUC, pp. 247 ff.). The Prince d'Orléans confirms HUC's observations, but I am sorry that I cannot put my finger on the passage at the moment. The shaman ladder was likewise known in Japan (cf. LOWELL, pp. 62 ff.).

¹⁶⁹ For the relation of *dārbhyūṣa* to *drumbhūlī*-/ *dālbhūṣī*, cf. KUIPER, p. 5 f.

in the Savara shaman's shooting at particular parts of the patient's body or over his entire body to the accompaniment of incantations (*cf.* above, pp. 694 and 696).

Now, it is of course conceivable that a Munda tribe, *viz.*, the Savara, adopted a procedure of the *Atharvaveda* magicians. But there is unquestionably a much stronger probability that the boar myth of the proto-Munda became part of the magic of the Munda peoples soon after the Aryan invasion, and was in this form taken over by the Brahmanic magicians.

One wonders whether the magic sickle of the Khond (A, III, 2) is not also an ancient feature. This is even more probable for the bow and arrow which the Bhil attached to the banner that represented the Mother Goddess (B, VI, 4). It is likewise noteworthy that the arrow of the Bhil points upward (towards heaven) while the Savara shaman shoots towards the sun ¹⁷⁰.

Finally, we should also bear in mind that rice balls are among the things which the Savara shamaness uses when performing cures (THURSTON, VI, p. 341).

7. The loose (long) hair

It is fairly common practice for the shamans (magicians) of North and Middle India to let their hair down before participating in a ceremony, or to wear it long ¹⁷¹. In the case of the Baiga, Koi-Gond and Maler, it is *essential* that the hair hang down or be worn long when taking part in shamanistic functions (*cf.* note 171). The occurrence of this phenomenon warrants the assumption that it is more proper to the Dravidian than to the Munda peoples, and should probably even be considered a very ancient custom of the Dravidians. Among the Santal we also find the exact opposite of this, *i. e.*, the shaman teacher binds up the hair of his disciple in a topknot when the latter has difficulty in passing into a trance (BODDING, p. 59).

Witches also let their hair hang loose ¹⁷². The Gond women do the same at the procession described earlier (A, III, 3, *d*).

In the Rigveda long hair is mentioned in connection with the idea of the magic shaman flight ¹⁷³. For the present we are unable to say whether such a connection exists also among the non-Aryan tribes.

¹⁷⁰ *Cf.* the recent study by HONKO, *Krankheitsprojekte*, esp. pp. 104 ff., *Die heilende Schießhandlung* (the curative shooting).

¹⁷¹ Santal : A, I, 1 ; Korku : A, I, 5 ; Baiga : A, II, 2 ; Khond : A, III, 2 ; Muria Gond : A, III, 3, *a* ; Koi Gond : A, III, 3, *d* ; Maler : A, III, 4.

¹⁷² CROOKE, speaking of North India generally, says : "The women..., while performing their magical rite, let their hair flow loose over their shoulders. The sanctity of witches, wizards and the like is supposed to rest in the hair" (North. Ind., p. 250). Concerning the Baiga witches, *cf.* ELWIN, Baiga, p. 341 ; for Bhil witches, *cf.* KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 292.

¹⁷³ ELIADE, p. 365 f. ; *cf.* RUBEN, *Schamanismus*, p. 167. — For the magic-religious significance of long hair, ELIADE refers (p. 366) to E. ARBMAN, Rudra, Uppsala-Leipzig 1922, p. 302.

VII. Some Notes on Ritual

It would require a separate investigation to consider in detail the (bloody) sacrifices which are offered by the magicians and shamans. For that matter, such a study could not be undertaken without at the same time going into the question of the strictly religious sacrifice. Furthermore, many details of the magic-shamanistic ritual were spoken of in the descriptive section.

1. Rice

The rice which is used by the magicians and shamans (and also by the priests) is always the so-called *adwa* (*arua*) rice. The EM states (under *adōa-cañli*, I, p. 39 f.): "pearly rice, *i. e.*, rice husked without being previously parboiled. The Mundas do not, as a rule, eat rice husked that way ...¹⁷⁴ However, pearled rice must be used for divination and sacrifices in which rice is offered". The reason is that "parboiled" rice "is already dead".

One can say of almost all Munda magicians that "it is the divination by means of husked rice grains which is most resorted to" (EM, IV, p. 1023). The Santal likewise use *adwa* rice exclusively at their religious and magic ceremonies (BODDING, p. 22). It is also used for the religious rites of the Kharia ; on the occasion of certain festivals the village priest blesses *adwa* rice, which is later used at the family sacrifices (EM, VIII, p. 2336).

Those persons whom the Baiga *gunia* (A, II, 2) and certain others employ as "controls" in the course of their divining must have pearly rice in their bottle gourds, for boiled rice would not make a "rattling noise" (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 379) when the gourd is shaken. The Baiga also use husked millet that has been carefully cleaned (*kodai*, *cf. l. c.*, p. 50 ; millet is one of their principal foods) to call down a spirit on a medium. The millet is put in the medium's hand (*l. c.*, p. 301 f.). The Oraon *mati* pelts his disciples with *arua* rice to induce spirit possession (ORC, p. 241 f.). To make the standard-bearer of the Maikal Gond go into a trance (B, VI, 4), the magician tosses rice at the banner (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 183 f.)¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷⁴ The reasons for this are : a certain percentage of the grains are crushed in the winnowing, and these particles would either be too easily shaken out of the winnow or would later be poured out with the water in which the grain is boiled ; this the poverty-stricken Munda could ill afford. They also say that the pearled rice is digested so quickly that they soon feel the pangs of hunger again (*l. c.*). The Juang call boiled rice *usua* ; *arua* rice "is usually preferred, as being more tasty and strength-giving" (ELWIN, Juang, p. 54, note 1).

¹⁷⁵ Sacrificial animals must be fed rice before being slaughtered ; *cf.* Santal : BODDING, p. 31 ; Munda : EM, II, p. 387, 389, 426 ; Kharia : EM, VIII, p. 2336, 2339 ; Oraon : ORC, p. 76, 278 ; Birhor : ROY, Birhors, p. 348. The custom seems to be quite general ; *cf.* ELWIN, Myths, p. 451.

2. Iron

The village smiths (*lohar*) who are sometimes in charge of the Oraon shaman schools (A, III, 1, *a*) probably belong to the Baraë, a caste related to the Munda, who in Chota Nagpur work as village smiths (*cf.* EM, II, pp. 401 ff.). In Gangpur the Baraë are known as Kamar. In certain other districts they are called Lohar: but they should not be confused with the Aryan smiths, also called Lohar, who ply their craft only in those villages where Hindus and Mohammedans live together (*l. c.*, p. 411). The Baraë believe that the tribal parents of the Asur are their ancestors (p. 412). The Santal have a tradition that they learned witchcraft from a blacksmith, but the tradition is not altogether clear (BODDING, p. 123).

It would help to clarify the problem if we knew whether the Lohar who are in charge of the shaman schools are Kolarians or Aryans. As we said earlier, we will assume for the present that it is the Baraë, (in some cases also the Turi, who are likewise a Munda tribe) that conduct the shaman schools (A, III, 1, *a*).

ELIADE points out that « le caractère démoniaque, âsurique, du travail métallurgique est bien mis en évidence par les mythes des populations aborigènes de l'Inde (Birhor, Munda, Oraon) où l'on souligne l'orgueil du forgeron et sa défaite finale par l'Être Suprême, qui réussit à le faire brûler dans sa propre forge » (p. 411) ¹⁷⁶. We have already spoken (note 104) of the interpretation given the Asur legend by the authors of the EM. In any case we should not attach too much significance to it, since it is essentially foreign to the Birhor and there is only a bare probability that the Oraon had it originally. RUBEN inclines to the view that one of the roots of Indian demon-mythology goes back to the ancient iron smelters (Eisenschmiede, p. 302) ¹⁷⁷.

Finally, attention should be called to the belief of some of the tribes, that iron has power to ward off evil. The Munda *deora* uses iron clamps and tubes to drive spirits away. The smith who fashions these tubes must fast (EM, IV, p. 1030 f.). We have already spoken of the iron cones of the Oraon (A, III, 1, *a*) and the iron slag of the Muria Gond (A, III, 3, *a*). The Juang magicians also use nails (ELWIN, Juang, p. 140). According to Baiga mythology, it is even the nail "that holds the world in place" (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 307, *cf.* p. 316). Their shaman-magicians likewise use nails in their ritual (*l. c.*, pp. 302, 344). It is plain that the shaman ladder of the Dusadh and the Dhangar belongs to a type of shamanism in which iron once played a special role ¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁶ [... the demoniac character of metallurgic work is emphasized in the myths of the aboriginal population of India (Birhor, Munda, Oraon), which stress the pride of the smith and his ultimate defeat by the Supreme Being who succeeds in burning him in his own smithy.]

¹⁷⁷ *Cf.* note 104, above.

¹⁷⁸ In Siberia the connection between shamans and smiths is a very close one. There is a Yakut proverb that goes: « Forgerons et chamans sont du même nid » [Smiths and shamans are from the same nest] (ELIADE, pp. 408 ff.).

3. The frenzied craving for blood

We observed among the Savara and the Maler the phenomenon of uncontrollable craving for blood. Even the shamaness succumbs to it in the latter tribe. An obviously related phenomenon is the attacking of a live goat by two Gond who were possessed by tigers (DALTON, p. 280). Among the Baiga there is an instance of a person, also possessed by the Tiger-god, drinking the blood of a chicken (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 302). Similar phenomena occur among the disciples of the Santal shaman (BODDING, p. 71).

We may be certain that such practices were originally foreign to the Munda peoples as well as to the northern Dravidians. BODDING insists that "a Santal in his senses would abhor the thing just as anybody else" (*l. c.*, note). On the other hand, they are encountered in many places in South India (*cf.* ELMORE, p. 149). In Essene (Trichinopoly District), a *pujari* (a pariah) "who is supposed to be under the influence of the deity" (a goddess) must drink the blood of about a hundred goats in a single night. At one festival, celebrated each spring in Trichinopoly in honor of a goddess, 2000 goats are slaughtered. A very fat *pujari* is obliged (the duty is inherited) to drink the blood of the first eight or ten animals; then, as the others are decapitated the carcasses are passed on to him, ostensibly so that he can drink the blood from them, too. The people believe that the goddess herself consumes the blood through the *pujari* (WHITEHEAD, p. 99 f.). In Tamil villages we find a parallel — we might even say, the prototype — to the attacking of live animals. It is "not uncommon" there for a *pujari*, painted to represent a leopard, to spring at the sheep like a wild beast and sink his teeth in their jugular vein (WHITEHEAD, *l. c.*).

This vastly increased emphasis on blood is doubtless rooted in the goddess-worship of the South Indian culture¹⁷⁹. In Middle and Central India it is especially the Savara and the Gadaba (*cf.* the buffalo sacrifices) of the Munda tribes, and the Maler of the Dravidian tribes, who have been most affected by it. We also encounter such frenzied craving for blood in the snake shamanism of the Northwest (*cf.* VOGEL, p. 249). The relation of the latter to the South Indian forms can, of course, be determined only by a careful study.

4. Human sacrifices (and symbols)

We stated earlier that the occasional occurrence of human sacrifice in former times among the Munda and the Oraon goes back to the Hindu land-owners in Chota Nagpur (RN., pp. 75 ff.). With respect to the Oraon, among whom the offering of human sacrifice was more common, this view has generally been confirmed by the EM: "Most of the *ondokas*¹⁸⁰ are emissaries of

¹⁷⁹ For further particulars, *cf.* WHITEHEAD, *e. g.*, the pouring of blood on rice, stones, at the village boundaries, on fields, cattle, work tools; it is placed before the goddesses to drink, etc. *Cf.* General Index in WHITEHEAD, *v.* "Blood".

¹⁸⁰ As a noun *ondoka* means "the act of waylaying people to procure their blood for human sacrifices" (EM, X, p. 3103).

Hindu zemindars" (X, p. 3107). When sickness comes to an Oraon family, a *mati* or *sokha* is consulted, and if the family is one that was previously in the habit of offering human sacrifices regularly, it is advised (even nowadays) to offer another human sacrifice if it wishes to be saved from utter destruction (*l. c.*).

The thigh-blood sacrifice of the Santal *ojha* (A, I, 1), the Munda *deora* (A, I, 2) and the Juang priest (note 43), is easily recognized as a foreign element in the magic ritual of these tribes. The same is true of the Kharia, where it is also occasionally offered (*cf.* EM, II, p. 645). For the rest, the Kharia (EM, X, p. 3107) and even the Savara themselves (THURSTON, VI, p. 335) insist that they never offered human sacrifice¹⁸⁰. One indication of the abhorrence of this practice is indeed contained in a Baiga legend: *Nanga Baiga* and *Nanga Baigin*, the ancestral pair, were about to offer up their own children for the purpose of stabilizing the earth. But in order that the children might be spared, the animals gave themselves up to be the victims (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 315).

We may rightly conclude, therefore, that human sacrifice infiltrated into the religion and magic ritual of the Munda peoples and the northern Dravidians only as a secondary feature. The fact that only a portion of the Khond offered human sacrifice (*cf.* THURSTON, III, p. 375; and note 77, above) is indeed proof that even in this tribe it is a relatively recent phenomenon. We have already pointed out that the Santal *kisar-bonga* ceremony must be regarded as an offshoot of the human-sacrifice-headhunting complex¹⁸¹.

5. Fertility festivals

The ten-day fertility festival of the Gadaba (A, I, 9) and the Bondo (A, I, 10) belongs to the same complex of fertility ceremonies as the one described by KOPPERS for the Bhil and the Maikal Mountain Gond (*cf.* B, VI, 4)¹⁸² and by FUCHS for the Balahi of Nimar District (pp. 321 ff.). To the

^{180a} According to ELWIN (Religion of an Indian Tribe, pp. 494 ff.), there are some exceptions. However, he too concludes with the statement: "... the main body of Saoras were always probably, and in the last hundred years certainly, innocent of an actual participation [in human sacrifice]" (p. 497). A person who kidnaps children for human sacrifice is called by the Saora *andadukku* (*cf.* foregoing footnote) or *andakeran* (p. 496).

¹⁸¹ When B. S. HAIKERWAL, in "Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India" (London 1934), writes: "In the past, the custom of human sacrifice was common in India chiefly amongst the Dravidians" (quoted from ELWIN, Muria, p. 68), he confirms our view concerning the Munda peoples, but he leaves the question of the origin of human sacrifice untouched. In a note to his statement about human sacrifices among the Savara (*cf.* the foregoing footnote) ELWIN writes (not giving his own opinion): "Hindu tradition has always ... associated the Saoras with human sacrifice" (Religion, p. 497, note 1). But the Savara are a Mundari-speaking people. — On this problem *cf.* also HEINE-GELDERN, Kopffjagd und Menschenopfer; furthermore EHRENFELS, p. 98 f. and RN., p. 78. For an ultimate elucidation of the human-sacrifice complex the occurrence of such sacrifices and related rites also outside South and Southeast Asia has to be considered. Special attention is here drawn to MARINGER's study (s. Bibliography) on human sacrifices in the burial customs of pre- and protohistoric Europe.

¹⁸² KOPPERS, Zentralindische Fruchtbarkeitsriten, pp. 165 ff.; Bhil, pp. 175 ff.

Balahi the seedlings represent *Bhawani Mata* "the mother of all the *barwas* (magicians)". The nine-day festival¹⁸³ of the Bhil pays honor not only to *Durga-Kali*, better known among them as *Bhowani* ("Zauberin", cf. the Balahi) (KOPPERS, Bhil, p. 175 ; cf. note 160), but also to all the higher beings and divinities. Wheat and barley¹⁸⁴ are put to sprout, and their growth is a foretoken of the harvest. Reference has already been made earlier (B, VI, 4) to the shamanistic phenomena that accompany this, viz., the initiation and trances of the shaman disciples. We might also add that while studying the Gond of the Maikal Mountains KOPPERS saw the son of a magician lying in front of the pole and possessed by a *mata*.

With regard to the vessels in which the sacred seed is put to sprout, special mention should be made of the multiple-section bamboo containers because they apparently have their counterpart in the Indus culture (cf. the illustrations in KOPPERS, Zentralind. Fruchtbarkeitsriten).

The rediscovery of the stolen seed pots among the Oraon (A, III, 1, a, 5) is probably a variation of the fertility novena. The search for buried *bongas* by the Santal (A, I, 1, 1) is perhaps a further outcrop of the same, coming to them by way of the Oraon.

This nine-day ceremony cannot have been an original custom either of the Gadaba, the Bondo, or the Bhil. It is significant that it is as such unknown to the Baiga, where we otherwise encounter a highly heterogeneous combination of elements of Indian magic (ELWIN, Baiga, p. 64) ; KOPPERS also^{184a} notes this fact. On the other hand, there is one clear indication that suggests South India. In the Tamil District, there is a ten-day festival in honor of the "boundary goddess", which bears a close resemblance to these fertility ceremonies. Instead of the vessels with the sprouting seed, we there have the *karagam*, an earthen vessel filled with water and lavishly decorated with flowers and other ornaments. The decorations, supported on a bamboo rod, taper up to a point. The *karagam* is the principal object in the largely shamanistic procession that takes place on the tenth day¹⁸⁵. Since these things point to the Indus culture, and farther on to Southwest Asia¹⁸⁶, they assume additional significance for culture history.

¹⁸³ The nine-day festival held in September-October is scheduled in such a way that the Hindu *Dashaharā*, a feast in honor of *Durga*, falls on the day after it, i. e., on the tenth day (Bhil, p. 176). But now the *Dashaharā* (*das*=ten) is a feast that lasts nine days and nine nights, during which the image of the goddess *Durga* is venerated with bloody sacrifices of animals in Bengal (GLASENAPP, p. 355).

¹⁸⁴ At present the Bhil sow only one third barley and one third wheat, while the Gond sow only wheat. However, both tribes still speak of the nine *zwara* (barley) days. This is one of the reasons why KOPPERS connects the ceremony with the barley area of southwest Asia.

^{184a} Fruchtbarkeitsriten, p. 168 ; citing ELWIN, Baiga, p. 64.

¹⁸⁵ WHITEHEAD, p. 100 f. The *karagam*, i. e., "the pot", is described on p. 37 f., with an illustr. on Plate III.

¹⁸⁶ For particulars, v. KOPPERS, Fruchtbarkeitsriten, pp. 172 ff. Cf. also MODE, Indische Frühkulturen, and MAYRHOFER, Die Indus-Kulturen ; also PIGGOTT, p. 153 f.

VIII. Elements of Shamanism in the Cult of the Dead

The ritual observances for the dead among the tribes of North and Middle India would be a subject with rich possibilities for a comprehensive special investigation¹⁸⁷. Here we shall only touch on the shamanistic feature which in many of the tribes is connected with the bringing back or recalling of the shade-soul to the dwelling of the deceased. The ceremony takes place some time between the third and the tenth day after death, or after the cremation or burial. In the various tribes there are many points of agreement concerning: the place whence the soul is recalled (often the spot where the bier was placed down to rest on the way to the burial); the methods by which the soul is recalled and shown the way to go (simulated burning of a house, beating of sickles or other metal objects); tabus; how to act when entering the house; how the presence of the soul is determined: insect, fish, marks in ashes or rice.

ROY writes that the ceremony which he terms "Calling back the shades of the dead"¹⁸⁸ is common to the Munda, Birhor "and most of the other Munda-speaking tribes" (Hill Bhuiyas, p. 200, note 73). In its original form this custom was doubtless based on a mental attitude that looked upon the deceased members of the family, not as sinister beings, but rather as friends and helpers who stayed in close communion with the living. This attitude manifests itself in the erection of megaliths as a means to keep the living and the dead forever united¹⁸⁹. This conception is certainly typical of the Munda peoples as a whole¹⁹⁰.

But this ceremony exists also among several other tribes of North and Middle India¹⁹¹. In a number of cases, however, we find that love for the

¹⁸⁷ Valuable studies of particular aspects are already available in the works of HEINE-GELDERN, *Die Megalithen Südasiens...*; KOPPERS, *Monuments to the Dead of the Bhils...*; FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Megalithic Ritual...*

¹⁸⁸ Thus in "The Hill Bhuiyas", p. 200. ELWIN speaks of "bringing back the soul" (Muria, p. 152). In Mundari the ceremony is called *umbul-ader*; *ader* = to put, to carry; *umbul* = shade (cf. ROY, *Birhors*, p. 591); cf. EM, I, p. 37. — For the idea of the soul, cf. ELWIN, *Baiga*, p. 294; *idem*, *Bondo*, p. 202; FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *The Reddis*, p. 330; *idem*, *Megalithic Ritual*, p. 167.

¹⁸⁹ HEINE-GELDERN, *Die Megalithen*, p. 314. He believes that it is quite possible, though not proved, that the Munda peoples brought the megalith system with them in their migration from the East (p. 313 f.).

¹⁹⁰ The same is true of the Austroasiatic Khasi and Palaung. These tribes also have a return, or a recalling of the soul (cf. GURDON, pp. 135, 109 f.; MILNE, pp. 301, 337).

¹⁹¹ ELWIN, *Muria*, p. 152, note 1, quotes the following examples from RUSSELL: Gond (III, p. 94), Ahir (II, p. 28), Halba (III, p. 195), Kharia (III, p. 450), Khond (III, p. 469, the soul rides on a curved stick), Lohar (IV, p. 124) and Taonla (IV, p. 544); they are closely related to the Khond, cf. p. 539). ELWIN says: "The practice is probably common to all the tribes in the Central Provinces" (*l. c.*). Further examples: Munda (Ho, Bhumij): ROY, *Mundas*, p. 463 and EM, I, p. 35; Asur: EM, I, p. 237; Baraë (cf. B, VII, 2): EM, I, p. 416; Kharia: EM, VIII, p. 2344; Juang: ELWIN, *Juang*, p. 111; Birhor: ROY, *Birhors*, pp. 269 ff.; Savara: THURSTON, VI, p. 326; Bhuiya: ROY, *Hill B.*, pp. 200 ff.; Bisonhorn Maria: ELWIN, *Maria Murder*, pp. 13, 22; Muria:

dead paradoxically exists side by side with fear of the dead ¹⁹², proof that two contrasting attitudes towards the dead have come into touch with each other.

In several of the tribes (the Santal, Savara, Bondo, Birhor, Pardhan and Gond ; see above) the spirit of the deceased enters into a human medium at this ceremony, although this person is not necessarily a shaman or magician. Among the Maler the dead person takes possession of the shaman at a service held a year after death (see above). Furthermore, at the great commemorative service for the dead of the Bodo Gadaba, the magician (*dissari*) is the one who really officiates. The shaman of the Muria discloses the cause of death and the magician (shaman ?) of the Bisonhorn Maria determines how the body is to be buried (see above).

Now it is, of course, certain that the Gond mediums are not shamans. There is some doubt about what the Santal mediums really are (or rather, were — the reports of SHERWILL and DALTON are more than a hundred years old !) ; theirs does seem, however, to be a very ancient ceremony. Should it be proved that the Savara and the Santal once formed a single tribe ¹⁹³, then the similarities between them in this respect could not be dismissed as mere coincidence. We know now from ELWIN's study that shamanistic possessions occur frequently in the rites for the dead among the Savara.

This phenomenon would still doubtless have to be looked upon as of recent origin and casual interest if such "spirit mediums" did not also occur among the Batak, a tribe linguistically akin to the Munda peoples ; there we find both professional mediums and others of whom the spirits of the dead take possession only occasionally (WARNECK, p. 90 f.). Now it is true that the Batak do not seem to have the custom of recalling the spirit, but that is not unknown in Indonesia. The ceremony with which the inhabitants of Nias conduct the soul of the deceased back to its dwelling (*cf.* CAMERLING, p. 91 f.)

ELWIN, Muria, p. 152, where ELWIN also mentions that the Hill Maria and Bisonhorn Maria are familiar with the rite. — Concerning the Oraon, *cf.* DEHON, p. 135 and ROY, ORC, p. 37 f. Acc. to ELWIN, the Bondo do not have this ceremony (Bondo, p. 202), while according to FÜRER-HAIMENDORF the shadow of the deceased stays close to the earth and the soul goes to the land of the dead (Megalithic Ritual, p. 167).

¹⁹² *Cf.* ELWIN, Baiga, p. 294 ; ROSSILLON (Khond), p. 658 f. ; Asur of Barway : EM, I, p. 237 ; ELWIN, Maria Murder (Bisonhorn Maria), p. 22 ; ELWIN, Bondo, pp. 202, 207 ff.

¹⁹³ Thus KOPPERS would interpret a remark of the EM, VI, p. 1818 (Probleme, p. 769, note 25). BODDING writes : "It is certain that the ancestors of the Santals lived in the Chota Nagpur plateau some four to five hundred years ago, and it is probable that they had been living in those parts of the country for centuries." A Santal legend says that their forefathers aided King Rama against *Ravana*, from which BODDING would conclude "that part of the ancestors of the Santal some two thousand years ago or more were living in the vicinity of the present Oudh, if not actually there" (p. 124). There is no doubt that the area inhabited by the Munda peoples once reached all the way to Northwest India (*cf.* MAYRHOFER, *Arische Landnahme*, p. 59). MAYRHOFER believes that the people with whom the Aryans came in contact were linguistic forbears of the ones who at present speak the Munda-Khasi-Mon-Khmer group of languages, and that they may have formed the upper class of society, while the lower class was composed of Dravidians and other peoples (*l. c.*). — About the history of the Santal *cf.* now also DATTA-MAJUMDER, pp. 21 ff.

is even strikingly similar to that of the Munda ¹⁹⁴. But again, the shamanistic element is lacking in the case of the Nias people. Thus, the question of just how old is the shamanistic element in the ritual observances which the Indian tribes hold for their dead must remain unanswered. Additional data must be had before it can be decided ¹⁹⁵.

At this point one might ask whether the ceremony of the recalling of the soul is not one of the forms underlying the ancestor worship of the East Asiatic peoples. The Muong, who are rather closely related to the Austroasiatics, are likewise familiar with the « cérémonie du retour » for the dead (CUISINIER, p. 483 f.). It must, however, be taken into consideration that they have been influenced by their racial kin, the highly cultured Annamites, and thus indirectly by the Chinese.

I have found no evidence among the Indian tribes of the belief held by the Siberian peoples that the shaman conducts the souls of certain deceased persons into the realm of the dead (*cf.* ELIADE, pp. 188 ff. : « le chaman psychopompe »).

IX. The Problem of the Trance (The Nature of Shamanism)

In the course of his thoroughgoing investigation ELIADE comes to the conclusion « que l'élément spécifique du chamanisme n'est pas l'incorporation des 'esprits' par le chaman, mais *l'extase provoquée par l'ascension au Ciel*

¹⁹⁴ The Nad'a of Flores invite all the dead to their great fertility festival, *ꞑꞑba* (*cf.* ARNDT, *Anthropos* 26, 1931, p. 383). VATTER reports (p. 215) something similar from the island of Lomblem.

¹⁹⁵ One of the problems still to be resolved is that of the numerous points of agreement between the Hindu ritual for the dead and the customs of the tribes we are dealing with here. On the one hand, of course, there is in the burial rites of these tribes much that derives from Hinduism as we know it today, but we must also take into consideration that the Aryans, during their early Indian period, were influenced to a considerable extent by the customs of the aboriginal population, while the latter for their part borrowed from the more elaborate forms of the Aryans.

The first question concerns cremation. In the earliest period the manner in which the Aryan Indians disposed of their dead was "in all probability" simple burial in the ground (MONIER-WILLIAMS, p. 279 ; *cf.* WINTERNITZ, I, p. 84). But about "five or six centuries before Christ, we find that funeral rites, though still conducted with much simplicity, were beginning to be more elaborate and more in unison with the present custom. If the practice of cremation was doubtful in Vedic times it was now invariable, except in the case of infants and great saints" (MON.-W., p. 281 ; *cf.* WINTERNITZ, p. 85, note 3). As the Aryans must have come in contact with the Munda peoples soon after their arrival in India (*cf.* note 193), it is not improbable that under the influence of the latter they changed over from burial to cremation. But to clarify this matter, one must take into account the Indus cultural picture where the work of research has not yet been completed. It is significant that the word for lump (*pinḍa*, *cf.* MONIER-W., p. 284) which, made of rice or flour, is an important ceremonial element in the sacrifice for the dead, seems to be of Austroasiatic origin (MAYRHOFER, *Arische Landnahme*, p. 60, on the authority of KUIPER, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*, pp. 124 ff.). We might recall that the Savara shamaness employs lumps of rice in her healing art (B, VI, 5).

ou par la descente aux Enfers : l'incorporation des esprits et la 'possession' par les esprits sont des phénomènes universellement répandus, mais ils n'appartiennent pas nécessairement au chamanisme stricto sensu » (p. 434) ¹⁹⁶.

If one applies this definition (there can be no doubt that ELIADE intends to give such a definition in the words I have italicized above ; cf. also p. 18), we obviously cannot speak of shamanism in the strict sense in North and Middle India. We do have the symbolism of the ascent to heaven clearly and repeatedly expressed in such things as the shaman ladder, the winnow (as the equivalent of the drum), the magician's (shaman's) post, the figure of the cosmic mountain, and probably in the Savara shaman's shooting with the bow and the upward-pointing arrow of the Bhil as well. We may say the same for the idea of the magic flight as symbolized in the loosely-hanging hair. There are even a few cases of an actual "heavenly journey" or something very similar, viz., in the case of the Baiga, Khond and Birhor (supposing that ROY is not idealizing the *mati*). If RUBEN can see a similarity to the heavenly journey in the Oraon *ojha's* sending his spirit away during the above-mentioned healing of the sick (Schamanismus, p. 167), then we might also say the same about the boy mediums of the Munda.

But this symbolism of the heavenly journey, or of the magic flight, rather gives the impression of something incongruous ; there seems to be no logical connection. Is it because the shaman magicians (nowadays at any rate) have no thoughts or theory about it, or is it that with the endless diversity of religious forms in India it is just too difficult for the ethnographer to delve into the thought-world of the shaman magicians — a world that is real and logical enough to them perhaps — and especially to find out what is taught to the candidates in the shaman schools and in personal instructions ? On the whole, however, it seems more probable that the shamans and magicians themselves are (nowadays at least) ignorant of the meaning of the rites and symbols.

But prescinding for the moment from the situation in India, it is questionable in our opinion whether the nature of shamanism consists in the ecstasy occasioned by the journey to heaven or hell. ELIADE rightly stresses the ecstatic element, but is the ecstasy really brought on (« provoquée ») by the ascent heavenward and the descent to the underworld ? Do not these rather presuppose the state of ecstasy ?

We would rather say that shamanism essentially consists in a specific relation to a tutelary spirit, which is manifested by the spirit's taking hold of the shaman as its medium, or by its entering into the shaman to invest him with higher knowledge and powers, above all with dominion over (other) spirits ¹⁹⁷. Adopting this definition one would have to say that shamanism

¹⁹⁶ [...] that the specific element of shamanism is not the incorporation of "spirits" by the shaman, but *the ecstasy caused by the ascension into heaven or the descent into the underworld*. The incorporation of spirits and the "possession" by spirits are phenomena spread throughout the world, but they do not necessarily belong to shamanism *in the strict sense*.]

¹⁹⁷ In the appendix to the „Anleitung“ (not „Einleitung“, as erroneously given there) of KIRSCHBAUM and FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, shamanism is defined : a secondary

exists in India in the full sense of the word (see V, above : The Call, Training, and Initiation of Shaman-Magicians).

In attempting to solve this problem we should give due importance to the fact that the idea of the post or tree that unites heaven and earth, the principal symbol of the ascent to heaven, occurs prior to and independently of shamanism. According to W. SCHMIDT, the "primitive culture" of the Arctic and of North America has the sacred central pole of the house ; it either represents the way to the Supreme Being or the Supreme Being Himself ¹⁹⁸. As far as the more recent cultures are concerned, there is no doubt that the mythology of the world-tree and kindred motifs extend far beyond the area of the shamanistic complex proper ¹⁹⁹.

On the other hand, we have good reason to believe that shamanism very early appropriated the idea of the tree uniting heaven and the underworld with earth, as well as the ladder and other such symbols. Such a borrowing would have been the easier since this is a characteristic motif of lunar mythology (WALK, p. 430 ; *cf.* p. 433) and shamanism may rightly be considered the offspring of lunar mythology (GAHS, p. 222). And it would appear that this complex had its fullest flowering in Siberia, both in thought and in ritual. ELIADE himself states : « Le chamanisme *stricto sensu* est par excellence un phénomène religieux sibérien et central-asiatique » (p. 17 f.). But the final form in which the evolution of a thing culminates cannot constitute its essence. In their basic form, *i. e.*, as something growing out of the worship of spirits and the dead taken in the sense of the above definition, the phenomena of shamanism should show a certain uniformity wherever they occur throughout the world ²⁰⁰. For further fundamental questions the reader is referred to D. SCHRÖDER's study, *Zur Struktur des Schamanismus* (Anthropos 50, 1955, pp. 848-881).

Conclusion :

Peculiarities of Indian Shamanism and its Place in Culture History

We have already shown that the anti-witch type was the most recent form of shamanism to appear in North and Middle India. The reaction against witchcraft did not necessarily have to take on the character of shamanism.

phenomenon growing from the worship of spirits and the dead, and based on the belief that certain individuals while in states of exaltation, due to spirit possession, possess higher knowledge and powers, especially dominion over (other) spirits [definition by the present writer]. — RUBEN has the same view as ELIADE regarding the essence of shamanism (*cf.* *Schamanismus im alten Indien*, p. 166) ; contrast KOPPERS, *Probleme*, p. 762, note 2.

¹⁹⁸ Der heilige Mittelpfahl, p. 966 ; there also the references to the detailed documentation in W. SCHMIDT's work : *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*.

¹⁹⁹ *Cf.* HOLMBERG, *Der Baum des Lebens* ; NUMAZAWA, pp. 392 ff. and 312 ff., and WALK, p. 433 f. (regarding NUMAZAWA's work). Of special importance is HAEKEL's recent study on the cosmic tree (see below, Bibliography).

²⁰⁰ With respect to the Indian aboriginal tribes, ELIADE speaks of a « magie qui, sans être toujours de structure chamanique, touche néanmoins au chamanisme » (p. 377 f.).

But the fact that it did so²⁰¹, leads one to believe that an older type of shamanism was already in existence there. As we have seen, this older type could have been (apart from snake shamanism) the Kolarian or the Hindu (South Dravidian) type, the practitioners in each being essentially medicine men. From these two types there later developed a mixed type.

There is no doubt about the existence of the Kolarian type at the present time. The only question is : how old is it, or, did the Munda peoples not originally have a simple medicine-man system, which evolved into its present form, first under the influence of the Hindu type and later of anti-witch shamanism also ? The case of the Munda tribe, where the winnowing-sieve *deora* is apparently an ordinary medicine man, would seem at first glance to favor such a view. With respect to the Santal, on the other hand, even such an expert as BODDING cannot make up his mind about the nature of the *ojha*. Calling attention though he does to the Hindu factors clearly evident in the *ojha*, he insists at the same time that "much of the practice of the Santal *ojha* seems to be essentially outside the Hindu fold" (p. 10). Shamanistic phenomena certainly occurred in India prior to the coming of Śaktism, and we should not suppose that the Munda peoples remained unaffected by them. As things now appear, I would say that shamanism was, generally speaking, a fairly ancient practice of the Munda peoples ; but it must have been a rather simple form of shamanism, with the winnow as the only shamanistic device.

The Hindu type of medicine-man shaman, in its basic features, probably grew out of the South Dravidian culture of India. (The term "culture" is naturally used with some reserve in this connection.) The features that are characteristic of it : female deities, the appearance here and there of shamanesses, the marked emphasis on blood in its ritual (including the frenzied craving for blood), the various forms of self-torture, and the fertility festivals with their lavish ceremonies, are all not only essentially alien to all the Munda peoples, but probably to all the other peoples we are treating as well. But somehow or other, the North Dravidians and especially the Baiga, subjected to influences from the south, must have produced this form of shamanism. The example of the Maler may show to what extent South Dravidian forms were able to infiltrate into the life of a tribe and there undergo further modification. At the mention of such possibilities and probabilities the question arises whether, by subtracting the Śaktic and Dravidian features, we might reach back to a time when the magical phenomena among the North Dravidians, *e. g.*, the Gond, were not essentially different from those of the Munda peoples. To find the answer to this question it would be important to know with certainty the original ethnic kinship of the individual tribes.

These more ancient forms of magic, the Kolarian, South Dravidian and mixed type (snake shamanism also) were exposed to the effects of Śaktism. This encouraged the formation of other composite types. KOPPERS has shown in particular how the Bhil, Baiga and Santal, were affected by this movement,

²⁰¹ The statement from the EM (*cf.* note 126, above) should be kept in mind here : "The only protection against witches and wizards is, according to the popular belief, to be found in the ministrations of *sokhas* and, partly, of *deôyrâs*" (X, p. 2920).

each in an identical manner (Probleme . . . , pp. 762 ff. ; *cf.* the same author : Zum Ursprung des Mysterienwesens, pp. 244 ff.). Apart from witchcraft, however, the effects of Śaktism on the Munda peoples were on the whole not of a serious nature ²⁰². That can be said of the *saket*-spirit and the *kisar bong*a ceremony of the Santal, the thigh-blood sacrifice of the Santal Munda, and Kharia as a substitute for human sacrifice, and even of the entry of *Śiva* and *Kali* into the religious thought-world of the Birhor and other tribes. Of a more serious nature, of course, was the custom of actual human sacrifice to which some of the Khond especially succumbed and which found some acceptance among other tribes, especially the Gond and Oraon.

The shaman ladder probably does not fit into any of the various magic-shamanistic complexes. Exactly where it belongs has yet to be determined for India, if this is at all possible.

The spirit marriage of the Savara shamans and shamanesses seems to be a unique phenomenon in India. It has, however, its counterpart in the witchcraft practices of the Santal. Among them a girl who is initiated into witchcraft is married to a spirit (ARCHER, p. 104).

Snake shamanism also occupies a unique position and probably goes back to very ancient times. OLDHAM calls attention to the marked similarity between the iron scourges of the serpent shamans of northwest India and those depicted in connection with Egyptian deities. "This scourge . . . appears to be the exact counterpart of that represented in the hands of Osiris and of several of the Egyptian deities" (p. 98, with illustration on opp. p. ; *cf.* p. 87). In view of this fact the Vedic tradition concerning a "serpent people", one that had a connection with the ocean, takes on added significance (*cf. l. c.*, pp. 63 ff.). According to MACKAY (p. 64), snakes were probably venerated in the Indus valley. HÖLTKE (see bibliography) presents very probable ornamental evidence for the existence of snake worship in Mohenjo-daro.

The shamanism of the tribes discussed here must be accounted as white shamanism in principle ²⁰³. Individual cases of abuse and arbitrary perversion — a sign of decadence — do not argue against the basic attitude of the shamans (and magicians). RUBEN's view (Schamanismus, p. 167), that the healing of the sick, which is the chief function of the shamans in central Asia, is a rare occurrence in Indian shamanism does not apply to North and Middle India, as the descriptive section of this study shows. And, in fact, a careful investigation would have to be made before one could say with certainty, as RUBEN does, that shamanistic healing of the sick was never native („nie heimisch“) to South India ²⁰⁴.

²⁰² We might recall BODDING's remark, that the Santal were able after their own fashion to block such influences (*cf.* note 18, above).

²⁰³ Concerning the relation of white and of black shamanism to the essence of shamanism *cf.* SCHRÖDER, p. 851 f. and especially p. 871 where SCHRÖDER states that an altruistic-social objective is essential to shamanism. — The only notable form of black magic in Northern and Middle India seems to be witchcraft, and elements of shamanism are found in it, too (*cf.* note 22, above).

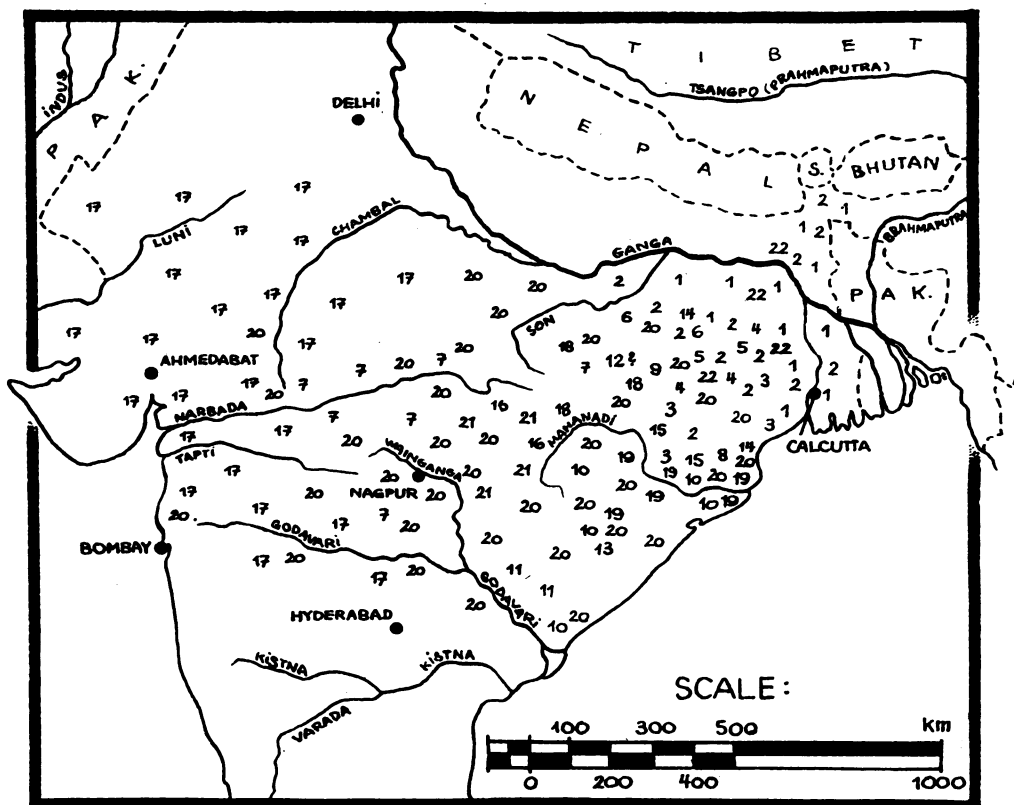
²⁰⁴ HARPER states in his paper "Shamanism in South India" that it is particularly for reasons of health that people in the hilly region of northwestern Mysore appeal to a shaman for help (p. 286.).

The occurrence of what would be called "mass trance" seems to be rather frequent among the tribes studied in this paper (*cf.* pp. 686, 689, 690, 705, 713, 714; and also pp. 705 and 712 concerning the excitement seizing the women). These phenomena are, of course, in themselves not of a shamanistic nature. However, the question may be asked whether this susceptibility to trance is not, as it were, the fertile soil in which shamanism proper could easily take root.

The writer is well aware that many of the views expressed in this paper are hypothetical; but they have nevertheless been advanced in order to invite sound criticism and further investigations.

Appendix

In footnotes 99 (p. 716) and 129a (p. 729) I briefly referred to the paper of S. FUCHS on the high-god belief of the primitive tribes of northeastern India. An additional remark may be made. According to FUCHS, the primitive hunters and collectors of this region possibly had an original high god who, however, either became one with the Hinduistic high god or was degraded to a minor deity. To this I would like to answer



Tribes of Northern and Middle India

1 Santal, 2 Munda, 3 Ho, 4 Bhumij, 5 Kharia, 6 Korwa, 7 Korku, 8 Juang, 9 Asur, 10 Savara, 11 Gadaba, 12 Turi, 13 Bondo, 14 Birhor, 15 Bhuiya, 16 Baiga, 17 Bhil, 18 Oraon, 19 Khond, 20 Gond, 21 Pardhan, 22 Maler.

the following. First, it seems to me that a stage of food collecting must be postulated also for the Munda peoples in a remote past, and consequently a similar possibility must be conceded to them. Secondly, it would be methodologically sound and even necessary for the solution of this problem to consider the religious conditions of the Southeast Asian food collectors as well as of the Austroasiatic peoples outside the sphere of Hinduistic influence. Thirdly, the traditions of these peoples themselves, although not too much stress should be laid on them, should not be dismissed altogether (cf. in this respect DATTA-MAJUMDER, p. 99).

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Abbreviations:

ELWIN, Religion	=	The Religion of an Indian Tribe.
EM	=	Encyclopaedia Mundarica.
ORC	=	ROY, Oraon Religion and Customs.
RN.	=	RAHMANN, Gottheiten der Primitivstämme im nordöstlichen Vorderindien.
THURSTON	=	THURSTON, Castes and Tribes of Southern India.

In referring to authors who have published but one work, only the page number is usually given. If there are several works by the same author, the reference includes some distinguishing word from the title in question, *e. g.*, ELWIN, Muria = The Muria and Their Ghotul; ROY, Mundas = The Mundas and Their Country.

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